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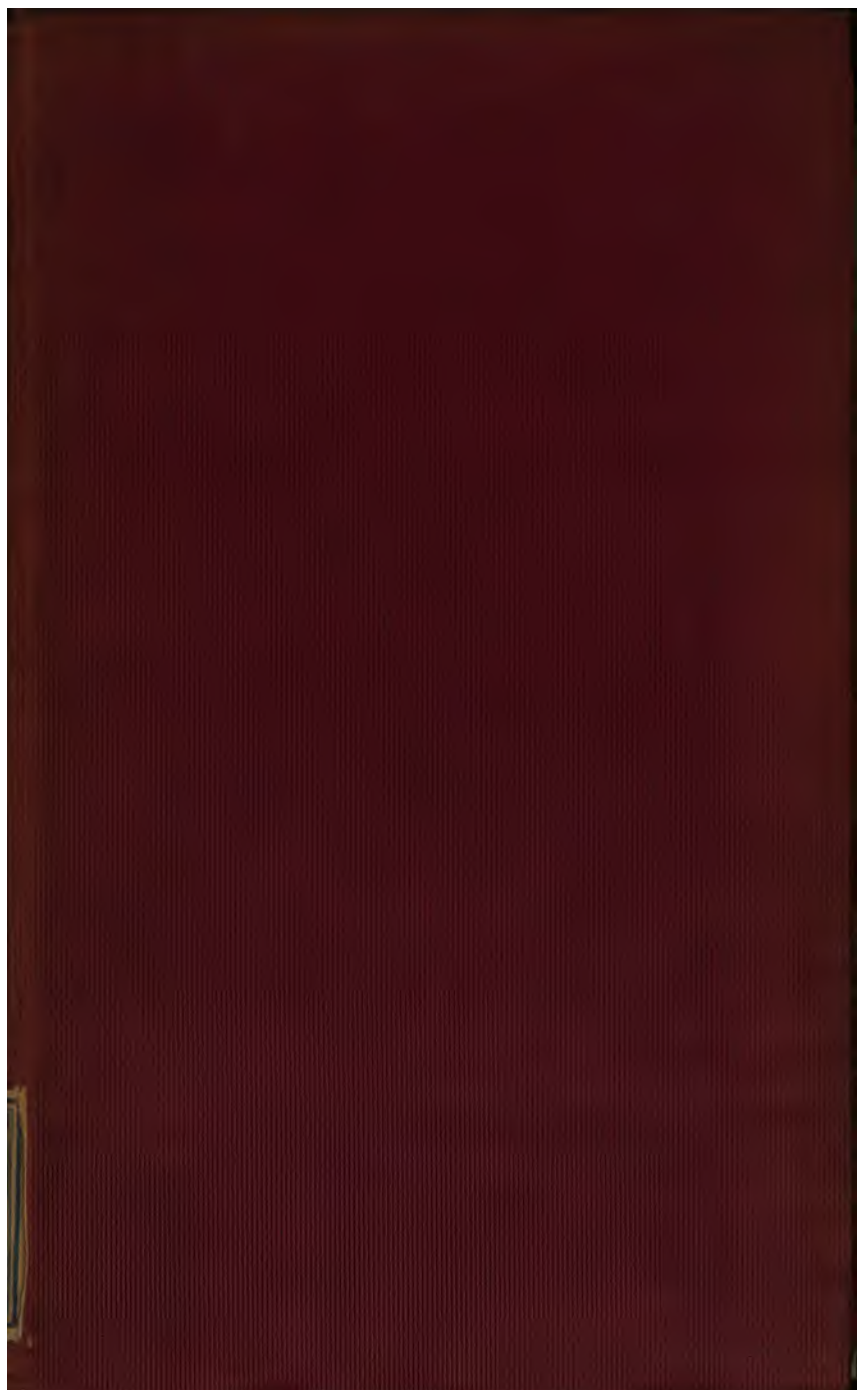
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PROSPECTUS
OF THE
THEOLOGICAL CRITIC,
A QUARTERLY JOURNAL,

EDITED BY THE REV.

THOMAS KERCHEVER ARNOLD, M.A.

RECTOR OF LYNDON,
AND LATE FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

THE principal object I have in view in editing this Journal is the furtherance of Biblical Criticism :—a most important branch of Theological Literature, which has been of late years all but entirely neglected in England.

The Journal will embrace Theology in the widest acceptance of the term, as comprehending the Criticism of the Sacred Text, Ecclesiastical Biography, the History of Natural and Revealed Religion, the History and Criticism of Dogmatic Theology, the History and Constitution of the Church, and the Constitution, Discipline, and Doctrines of particular Churches, and of Dissenting and Heretical Communities. The kindred subjects of Morality and Polity will also be occasionally introduced ; and, from its importance to Biblical Criticism, even Classical Literature will not be entirely excluded. I am very anxious to give the Work a *permanent* value, by so arranging the subjects discussed, that in the course of a few years nearly all the Doctrines of primary importance, especially those which are still agitated in the controversies that disturb the peace and destroy the visible unity of the Church, may have received a full discussion in its pages.

In using the abundant and valuable treasures of German Theology, it will be my endeavour to introduce *nothing*—except for refutation or warning—that cannot stand the test of sound criticism, as both founded and conducted on the principles of Christian *Faith*. In publishing my name as the responsible Editor of the Work, I give a pledge that I shall not willingly and intentionally allow any article or statement to appear in its pages in violation of Christian charity, candour, or courtesy.

T. K. A.

RIVING

ND WATERLOO PLACE.





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THE
PHILIPPIC ORATIONS
OF
DEMOSTHENES,

WITH
ENGLISH NOTES.



EDITED BY
THOMAS KERCHEVER ARNOLD, M.A.
RECTOR OF LYNDON,
AND LATE FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

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PREFACE.

THIS edition contains the whole of F. Jacobs's notes to his translation of the "Staatsreden:" I am indebted for them to my friend and coadjutor, the Rev. R. B. Paul, M.A., formerly Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College, Oxford, now Canon *designate* of the proposed Cathedral of Canterbury, in New Zealand. The other notes are selected principally from Franke's excellent and very copious commentary. Westermann's edition did not reach me till the notes upon the two first Orations were printed. His selection of annotations is very judicious, but he has seldom any cause to dissent from Franke. I have often followed either one or both of these commentators, even where, from having made some slight alteration in the mode of statement, or from having taken *something* from *each*, I have not been able to affix the name of either to my note.

Schäf. or *Sch.* = Schäfer.

Rsk. = Reiske.

V. = Vömel.

F. = Franke.

Wst. = Westermann.

C. = Champlin.

JN. = *join* the words in the following order, in construing the passage.

The grammatical references are :

- 1) to the Editor's larger Greek Grammar.
- 2) to smaller Gr. Gr. [in ()].
- 3) to Mr. Jelf's Kühner (with § prefixed).

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ERRATA.

Page 24, line 23, for *ἐξελέγονται* read *ἐξελέγονται*
 „ 27, „ 36, for *οὐκ ἔχετε* read *οὐχ ἔχετε*

ORATIONES PHILIPPICÆ.

ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Α.

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Κακῶς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς Φίλιππον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι φερόμενοι συνελλυθέντες εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἀθνυοῦντες. Ὁ τοίνυν ῥήτωρ τὴν τε ἀθυμίαν περᾶται παθεῖν, λέγων οὐδὲν εἶναι θανμαστὸν εἰ ῥαθυμοῦντες ἐκεράττηνται, καὶ εἰσηγίται πῶς ἂν ἄριστα τῷ πολέμῳ προσενεχθεῖεν. Κελεύει δὴ δύο δυνάμεις παρασκευάσασθαι, μίαν μὲν μίζω, πολιτικὴν, ἥτις οἶκοι μένουσα πρὸς τὰς κατὰ καιρὸν χρείας ἱτομος ὑπάρξει, ἑτέραν δὲ ἐλάττω, ξένων ὄντων τῶν στρατευομένων, παραμειγμένων δὲ κελεύει τὴν δύναμιν μὴ Ἀθήνησι μένειν μηδὲ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ποιῆσθαι τὰς βοηθείας, ἀλλὰ περὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἀναστρέφεσθαι πολεμοῦσαν ἀδιστάπτως, ἵνα μὴ τοὺς ἐτῆσις πνέοντας ἐπιτηρήσας ὁ Φίλιππος ἢ καὶ τὸν χειμῶνα, ἤνικα Ἀθήνηθεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν πλεῖν οὐ δυνατόν, ἐπιχειρῇ τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἀπουσίαν τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπάντων κρατῇ, ἀλλ' ἐγγυθὲς ἢ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀντιταξομένη δύναμις ὑπάρχῃ.

Εἰ μὲν περὶ καινοῦ τινος πράγματος προϋτίθετο ὧς ἄνδρες 1 Ἀθηναῖοι λέγειν, ἐπισχῶν ἂν ἕως οἱ πλείστοι τῶν εἰωθότων Α γνῶμην ἀπεφώνησαντο, εἰ μὲν ἡρεσκέ τί μοι τῶν ὑπὸ τούτων ῥηθέντων, ἡσυχίαν ἂν ἤγον, εἰ δὲ μή, τοτ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπειρώμην ἃ γινώσκω λέγειν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὑπὲρ ὧν πολλάκις εἰρήκασιν οὗτοι πρότερον συμβαίνει καὶ νυνὶ σκοπεῖν, ἡγοῦμαι καὶ πρῶτος ἀναστὰς εἰκότως ἂν συγγνώμης τυγχάνειν. Εἰ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου τὰ δέοντα οὗτοι συνεβούλευσαι, οὐδὲν ἂν ὑμᾶς νῦν ἔδει βουλεύεσθαι.

Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀθυμητέον ὧς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοῖς 2 παρούσι πράγμασιν, οὐδ' εἰ πάνν φαύλως ἔχειν δοκεῖ. Ὁ Β γὰρ ἐστὶ χεῖριστον αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου, τοῦτο πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα βέλτιστον ὑπάρχει. Τί οὖν ἐστὶ τοῦτο; ὅτι οὐδὲν ὧς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τῶν δέοντων ποιούντων ὑμῶν κακῶς τὰ πράγματα ἔχει, ἐπεὶ τοι εἰ πάνθ' ἃ προσῆκε πρᾶττόντων οὕτως εἶχεν, οὐδ' ἂν ἐλπίς ἦν αὐτὰ βελτίω γενέσθαι. Ἐπειτα ἐνθυμητέον καὶ παρ' ἄλλων ἀκούουσι καὶ

Α τοῖς εἰδόσιν αὐτοῖς ἀναμνησκομένοις, ἡλικίην ποτ' ἐχόντων
 δύναμιν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐξ οὗ χρόνος οὐ πολὺς, ὥς καλῶς
 καὶ προσηκόντως οὐδὲν ἀνάξιον ὑμεῖς ἐπράξατε τῆς πόλεως,
 ἀλλ' ὑπεμείνατε ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων τὸν πρὸς ἐκείνους πόλεμον.
 Τίνος οὖν ἕνεκα ταῦτα λέγω; ἵν' εἰδῆτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
 καὶ θεάσησθε ὅτι οὐδὲν οὔτε φυλαττομένοις ὑμῖν ἐστὶ φοβερὸν
 οὗτ', ἂν ὀλιγορῆτε, τοιοῦτον οἶον ἂν ὑμεῖς βούλοισθε, παρα-
 δείγμασι χρώμενοι τῇ τότε βῶμῃ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἧς
 ἐκρατεῖτε ἐκ τοῦ προσέχειν τοῖς πράγμασι τὸν νοῦν, καὶ τῇ
 νῦν ὕβρει τούτου, δι' ἣν ταραττόμεθα ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν φροντίζειν
 Β ὧν ἐχρῆν. Εἰ δέ τις ὑμῶν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι δυσπολέμητον
 οἶεται τὸν Φίλιππον εἶναι, σκοπῶν τό τε πλῆθος τῆς ὑπαρ-
 χούσης αὐτῷ δυνάμεως καὶ τὸ τὰ χωρία πάντα ἀπολωλέναι
 τῇ πόλει, ὀρθῶς μὲν οἶεται, λογισάσθω μέντοι τοῦθ', ὅτι
 εἰχόμεν ποτε ἡμεῖς ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι Πύδναν καὶ Ποτίδαιαν
 καὶ Μεθώνην καὶ πάντα τὸν τόπον τούτον οἰκείον κύκλῳ, καὶ
 πολλὰ τῶν μετ' ἐκείνου νῦν ὄντων ἐθνῶν αὐτονομούμενα καὶ
 ἐλεύθερα ὑπῆρχε καὶ μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ἐβούλετ' ἔχειν οἰκείως ἢ
 'κείνῳ. Εἰ τοίνυν ὁ Φίλιππος τότε ταύτην ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην,
 ὥς χαλεπὸν πολεμεῖν ἐστὶν Ἀθηναίοις ἔχουσι τοσαῦτα ἐπι-
 C τειχίσματα τῆς αὐτοῦ χώρας ἔρημον ὄντα συμμαχῶν, οὐδὲν
 ἂν ὧν νυνὶ πεποιήκεν ἐπράξεν, οὐδὲ τοσαύτην ἐκτήσατο δύνα-
 μιν. Ἀλλ' εἶδεν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦτο καλῶς ἐκείνος,
 ὅτι ταῦτα μὲν ἐστὶν ἅπαντα τὰ χωρία ἄθλα τοῦ πολέμου
 κείμενα ἐν μέσῳ, φύσει δ' ὑπάρχει τοῖς παροῦσι τὰ τῶν ἀπύ-
 των καὶ τοῖς ἐθέλουσι πονεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν τὰ τῶν ἀμελούν-
 των. Καὶ γάρ τοι ταύτῃ χρησάμενος τῇ γνώμῃ πάντα κατ-
 ἔστραπται καὶ ἔχει, τὰ μὲν ὥς ἂν ἐλὼν τις ἔχοι πολέμῳ, τὰ
 δὲ σύμμαχα καὶ φίλα ποιησάμενος· καὶ γὰρ συμμαχεῖν καὶ
 προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν τούτοις ἐθέλουσιν ἅπαντες, οὓς ἂν ὀρώσῃ
 D παρσκευασμένους καὶ πράττειν ἐθέλοντας ἢ χρεόν. Ἄν τοί-
 νυν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐθελήσῃτε
 γενέσθαι γνώμης νῦν, ἐπειδὴ περ οὐ πρότερον, καὶ ἕκαστος
 ὑμῶν, οὗ δεῖ καὶ δύναιτ' ἂν παρασχεῖν αὐτὸν χρήσιμον τῇ
 πόλει, πᾶσαν ἀφείδ τὴν εἰρωνεῖαν ἑτοιμος πράττειν ὑπάρξῃ, ὁ
 μὲν χρήματ' ἔχων εἰσφέρειν, ὁ δ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ στρατεύεσθαι,—
 συνελόντι δ' ἀπλῶς ἦν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐθελήσῃτε γενέσθαι καὶ
 παύσησθε αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν ἕκαστος ποτήσειν ἐλπίζων, τὸν δὲ
 πλησίον πάνθ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πράξειν, καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερά αὐτῶν
 κομιεῖσθε, ἂν θεὸς θέλῃ, καὶ τὰ κατεφάρθυμμένα πάλιν ἀνα-
 λήψεσθε, κἀκεῖνον τιμωρήσεσθε. Μὴ γὰρ ὥς θεῶ νομίζειτ'

ἐκείνῳ τὰ παρόντα πεπηγέναι πράγματα ἀθάνατα, ἀλλὰ καὶ Α
 μισεῖ τις ἐκείνον καὶ δέδιεν ὧς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ φθονεῖ,
 καὶ τῶν πάντων νῦν δοκούντων οικειῶς ἔχειν· καὶ ἅπανθ' ὅσα
 περ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τισὶν ἀνθρώποις ἐνι, ταῦτα κἀν τοῖς μετ'
 ἐκείνου χρή νομίζειν ἐνεῖναι. Κατέπηχε μέντοι πάντα ταῦτα
 νῦν, οὐκ ἔχοντ' ἀποστροφὴν διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν βραδυτῆτα καὶ
 βραθυμίαν, ἣν ἀποθέσθαι φημι δεῖν ἤδη. Ὅρατε γὰρ ὧς ἄν-
 δρες Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ πρᾶγμα, οἱ προελήλυθεν ἀσελγείας ἀνθρω-
 πος, ὃς οὐδ' αἵρεσιν ὑμῖν δίδωσι τοῦ πράττειν ἢ ἀγειν ἡσυ-
 χίαν, ἀλλ' ἀπειλεῖ καὶ λόγους ὑπερηφάνους, ὥς φασι, λέγει,
 καὶ οὐχ οἷός ἐστιν ἔχων εἰ κατέστραπται μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων, Β
 ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τι προσπεριβάλλεται καὶ κύκλῳ πανταχῇ μέλλοντας
 ἡμᾶς καὶ καθημένους περιστοιχίζεται. Πότ' οὖν, ὧς ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι, πότε εἰ χρή πράξετε; ἐπειδὰν τί γένηται; ἐπειδὰν
 νῆ Δί' ἀνάγκη ᾖ. Νῦν δὲ τί χρή τὰ γινόμενα ἡγείσθαι;
 ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἶομαι τοῖς ἐλευθέροις μεγίστην ἀνάγκην τὴν
 ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων αἰσχύνην εἶναι. Ἡ βούλεσθε, εἰπέ
 μοι, περιμόντες αὐτῶν πυνθάνεσθαι· λέγεταί τι καινόν;
 γένοιτο γὰρ ἂν τι καινότερον ἢ Μακεδῶν ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναίους
 καταπολεμῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων διοικῶν; τίθησκε Φίλιπ-
 πος; οὐ μὰ Δί'. Ἀλλ' ἀσθενεῖ; τί δ' ὑμῖν διαφέρει; καὶ C
 γὰρ ἂν οὗτός τι πάθῃ, ταχέως ὑμεῖς ἕτερον Φίλιππον ποιή-
 σετε, ἂν περ οὕτω προσέχητε τοῖς πράγμασι τὸν νοῦν· οὐδὲ
 γὰρ οὗτος παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ βώμην τοσοῦτον ἐπηύξηται ὅσον
 παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀμέλειαν. Καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο· εἰ τι πάθοι
 καὶ τὰ τῆς τύχης ἡμῖν, ἢ περ αἰεὶ βέλτιον ἢ ἡμεῖς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν
 ἐπιμελούμεθα, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐξεργάσαιοτο, ἴσθ' ὅτι πλησίον μὲν
 ὄντες, ἅπασιν ἂν τοῖς πράγμασι τεταραγμένοις ἐπιστάντες
 ὅπως βούλεσθε διοικήσαισθε, ὥς δὲ νῦν ἔχετε, οὐδὲ διδόντων
 τῶν καιρῶν Ἀμφίπολιν δέξασθαι δύναισθ' ἂν, ἀπληρημένοι
 καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις.

Ὡς μὲν οὖν διὲ τὰ προσήκοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλοντας ὑπάρχειν D
 ἅπαντας ἐτοίμως, ὥς ἐγνωκότων ὑμῶν καὶ πεπεισμένων,
 παύομαι λέγων· τὸν δὲ τρόπον τῆς παρασκευῆς ἦν ἀπαλλάξαι
 ἂν τῶν τοιούτων πραγμάτων ἡμᾶς οἶομαι, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος
 ὅσον, καὶ πόρους οὐστυνας χρημάτων, καὶ τᾶλλα ὥς ἂν μοι
 βέλτιστα καὶ γάχιστα δοκεῖ παρασκευασθῆναι, καὶ δὴ πειρά-
 σμαι λέγων, δεηθεὶς ὑμῶν ὧς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοσοῦτον.
 Ἐπειδὰν ἅπαντα ἀκούσητε, κρίνατε, μὴ πρότερον προλαμ-
 βάνετε· μὴδ' ἂν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δοκῶ τινι καιρῇ παρασκευὴν
 λέγειν, ἀναβάλλειν με τὰ πράγματα ἡγείσθω. Οὐ γὰρ οἱ

Α χειροτονεῖτε τοὺς ταξιάρχους καὶ τοὺς φυλάρχους, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον. Οὐ γὰρ ἐχρῆν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι ταξιάρχους παρ' ὑμῶν, ἵππαρχον παρ' ὑμῶν, ἄρχοντας οἰκείους εἶναι, ἢ ἢν ὡς ἀληθῶς τῆς πόλεως ἡ δύναμις; ἀλλ' εἰς μὲν Λῆμνον τὸν παρ' ὑμῶν ἵππαρχον δεῖ κλεῖν, τῶν δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν τῆς πόλεως κτημάτων ἀγωνιζομένων Μενέλαον ἵππαρχεῖν; καὶ οὐ τὸν ἄνδρα μεμφόμενος ταῦτα λέγω, ἀλλ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἔδει κεχειροτονημένον εἶναι τοῦτον, ὅστις ἂν ᾖ.

6 Ἴσως δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ὀρθῶς ἡγεῖσθε λέγεσθαι, τὸ δὲ τῶν χρημάτων, πόσα καὶ πόθεν ἔσται, μάλιστα ποθεῖτε ἀκούσαι.

Β Τοῦτο δὴ καὶ περαίνω. Χρήματα τοῖνυν, ἔστι μὲν ἡ τροφή, σιτηρέσιον μόνον τῇ δυνάμει ταύτῃ, τάλαντα ἐνενήκοντα καὶ μικρόν τι πρὸς, δέκα μὲν ναυσὶ ταχείαις τετταράκοντα τάλαντα, εἰκοσιν εἰς τὴν ναῦν μυαῖ τοῦ μηνὸς ἐκάστου, στρατιώταις δὲ διαχιλίοις τοσαῦθ' ἕτερα, ἵνα δέκα τοῦ μηνὸς ὁ στρατιώτης δραχμὰς σιτηρέσιον λαμβάνῃ, τοῖς δ' ἵππευσι διακοσίοις οὖσιν, ἂν τριάκοντα δραχμὰς ἕκαστος λαμβάνῃ τοῦ μηνός, δώδεκα τάλαντα. Εἰ δέ τις οἴεται μικρὰν ἀφορμὴν εἶναι, σιτηρέσιον τοῖς στρατευομένοις ὑπάρχειν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἐγνώσκον· ἐγὼ γὰρ οἶδα σαφῶς ὅτι, τοῦτ' ἂν γένηται, προσποριεῖ τὰ λοιπὰ αὐτὸ τὸ σφράτευμα ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμου, οὐδένα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀδικούν οὐδὲ τῶν συμμάχων, ὥστ' ἔχουν μισθὸν ἐντελέῃ. Ἐγὼ συμπλέων ἰθελοντῆς πάσχειν ὅτιοῦν ἔτοιμος, ἂν μὴ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχῃ. Πόθεν οὖν ὁ πόρος τῶν χρημάτων, ἃ παρ' ὑμῶν κελεύω γενέσθαι, τοῦτ' ἤδη λέξω.

ΠΟΡΟΥ ΑΠΟΔΕΙΞΙΣ.

7 Ἀ μὲν ἡμεῖς ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι δεδυνήμεθα εὐρεῖν, ταῦτά ἐστιν· ἐπειδὴν δ' ἐπιχειροτονήτε τὰς γνώμας, ἂν ὑμῖν ἀρέσκη, χειροτονήσετε, ἵνα μὴ μόνον ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς πολεμῆτε Φιλίππῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις.

8 Δοκεῖτε δέ μοι πολὺ βέλτιον ἂν περὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ὅλης τῆς παρασκευῆς βουλευσασθαι, εἰ τὸν τόπον ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τῆς χώρας, πρὸς ἣν πολεμεῖτε, ἐνθυμηθείητε, καὶ λογισαίητε ὅτι τοῖς πνεύμασι καὶ ταῖς ὥραις τοῦ ἔτους τὰ πολλὰ προλαμβάνων διαπράττεται Φίλιππος καὶ φυλάξας τοὺς ἐτησίας ἢ τὸν χειμῶνα ἐπιχειρεῖ, ἢνίκ' ἂν ἡμεῖς μὴ δυναίμεθα ἐκείσε ἀφικέσθαι. Δεῖ τοῖνυν ταῦτ' ἐνθυμουμένους μὴ βοηθείαις πολεμεῖν (ὑστεριοῦμεν γὰρ ἀπάντων) ἀλλὰ παρασκευῇ συνεχεῖ καὶ δυνάμει. Ὑπάρχει δ' ὑμῖν χειμαδίῃ μὲν χρῆ-

σθαι τῇ δυνάμει Δήμῳ καὶ Θάσῳ καὶ Σκιάθῳ καὶ ταῖς ἐν α
τούτῳ τῇ τύφῃ νήσοις, ἐν αἷς καὶ λιμένες καὶ σῖτος καὶ ἡ χρῆ
στρατεύματι πάνθ' ὑπάρχει τὴν δ' ἔραν τοῦ ἔτους, ὅτε καὶ
πρὸς τῇ γῇ γενέσθαι βῆξιον καὶ τὸ τῶν πνευμάτων ἀσφαλές,
πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ χώρῃ καὶ πρὸς τοῖς τῶν ἐμπορίων στόμασι
βῆξιός ἐσται.

Ἄ μὲν οὖν χρήσεται καὶ πότε τῇ δυνάμει, παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν θ
ὁ τούτων κύριος καταστὰς ὑφ' ἡμῶν βουλευέσεται· ἃ δ' ὑπάρχει
δεῖ παρ' ἡμῶν, ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἃ ἐγὼ γέγραφα. Ἄν ταῦτα ὁ
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι πορίσῃτε τὰ χρήματα πρῶτον ἃ λέγω, εἴτα
καὶ τὰλλα παρασκευάσαντες, τοὺς στρατιώτας, τὰς τριήρεις, β
τοὺς ἱππέας, ἐντελῇ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν, νόμῳ κατακλείσῃτε
ἐπὶ τῇ πολέμῳ μένειν, τῶν μὲν χρημάτων αὐτοὶ ταμίαι καὶ
πορισταὶ γιγνόμενοι, τῶν δὲ πράξεων παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ
τὸν λόγον ζητοῦντες, παύσεσθ' αἰεὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν βουλευό-
μενοι καὶ πλέον οὐδὲν ποιοῦντες, καὶ ἐτι πρὸς τούτῳ πρῶτον
μὲν ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν μέγιστον τῶν ἐκείνου πόρων ἀφ-
αιρήσεσθε. Ἔστι δ' οὗτος τίς; ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἡμῖν
πολεμικῇ συμμάχων, ἄγων καὶ φέρων τοὺς πλείοντας τὴν
θάλατταν. Ἐπειτα τί πρὸς τούτῳ; τοῦ πάσχειν αὐτοὶ κακῶς
ἔξω γενήσεσθε, ὥς ὥστε τὸν παρελθόντα χρόνον εἰς Ἀθήνας γ
καὶ Ἰμβρον ἐμβαλὼν αἰχμαλώτους πολίτας ὑμετέρους ἔχει
ἔχων, πρὸς τῇ Γεραιῳ τὰ πλοῖα συλλαβὼν ἀμύθητα χρή-
ματ' ἐξέλεξε, τὰ τελευταῖα εἰς Μαραθῶνα ἀπέβη καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν
ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ἔχει ἔχων τριήρη, ὑμεῖς δ' οὔτε ταῦτα δύ-
νασθε κωλύειν οὔτ' εἰς τοὺς χρόνους, ὅς ἐαν προθῇσθε, βοη-
θεῖν. Καίτοι τί δὴ ποτε, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, νομίζετε τὴν
μὲν τῶν Παναθηναίων ἑορτὴν καὶ τὴν τῶν Διονυσίων αἰεὶ τοῦ
καθήκοντος χρόνου γίγνεσθαι, ἂν 1ε δεῖνοι λάχουσιν ἂν τε
ἰδιώται οἱ τούτων ἑκατέρων ἐπιμελούμενοι, εἰς ἃ τοσαῦτ' ἀν-
αλίσκεται χρήματα ὅσα οὐδ' εἰς ἓνα τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τοσ- δ
οῦτον ὄχλον καὶ παρασκευὴν δοῇ οὐκ οἶδ' εἰ τι τῶν ἀπάντων
ἔχει, τοὺς δ' ἀποστόλους πάντας ἡμῖν ὑπερίζειν τῶν καιρῶν,
τὸν εἰς Μεθώνην, τὸν εἰς Παγασάς, τὸν εἰς Ποτίδαιαν; ὅτι
ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἅπαντα νόμῳ τέτακται, καὶ πρόβειν ἕκαστος ἡμῶν
ἐκ πολλοῦ τίς χορηγὸς ἢ γυμνασιάρχος τῆς φυλῆς, πότε καὶ
παρὰ τοῦ καὶ τίνα λαβόντα τί δεῖ ποιεῖν οὐδὲν ἀνεξέταστον
οὐδ' ἀόριστον ἐν τούτοις ἡμῶνται, ἐν δὲ τοῖς περὶ τοῦ πολέμου
καὶ τῇ τούτου παρασκευῇ ἅτακτα ἀλιόρρωτα ἀόριστα ἅπαντα.
Τοιγαροῦν ἡμεῖς ἀρκούμεν τι καὶ τριηράρχους καθίσταμεν καὶ
τούτοις ἀντιδόσεις ποιοῦμεθα καὶ περὶ χρημάτων πόρον σκο-

α νίσασθαι περὶ θάνατον τολμᾷ, ἀλλὰ τὸν τῶν ἀνδραποδιστῶν
 καὶ λωποδυτῶν θάνατον μᾶλλον αἰροῦνται τοῦ προσήκοντος·
 κακούργου μὲν γάρ ἐστι κριθῆναι ἀποθανεῖν, στρατηγοῦ δὲ
 μαχόμενον τοῖς πολεμίοις. Ἡμῶν δ' οἱ μὲν περιιόντες μετὰ
 Λακεδαιμονίων φασὶ Φίλιππον πράττειν τὴν Θηβαίων κατὰ-
 λυσιν καὶ τὰς πολιτείας διασπᾶν, οἱ δ' ὡς πρέσβεις πέπομφεν
 ὡς βασιλεία, οἱ δ' ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς πόλεις τειχίζειν, οἱ δὲ λόγους
 πλάττοντες ἕκαστος περιερχόμεθα. Ἐγὼ δ' οἶμαι μὲν, ὧ
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐκείνον μεθύειν τῷ μεγέθει
 τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ὀνειροπολεῖν ἐν τῇ
 β γυνῳ, τὴν τ' ἐρημίαν τῶν κωλυσόντων ὀρώντα καὶ τοῖς
 πεπραγμένοις ἐπρημένον, οὐ μέντοι γε μὰ Δι' οὕτω προαι-
 ρεῖσθαι πράττειν, ὥστε τοὺς ἀνοητοτάτους τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν εἰδέ-
 ναι τί μέλλει ποιεῖν ἐκεῖνος· ἀνοητάτοι γάρ εἰσιν οἱ λογο-
 ποιῶντες. Ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἀφέντες ταῦτ' ἐκείνο εἰδῶμεν, ὅτι ἐχθρὸς
 ἀνθρώπος καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα ἡμᾶς ἀποστερεῖ καὶ χρόνον πολὺν
 ὑβρίζει, καὶ δπανθ' ὅσα πώποτ' ἠλπίσαμεν τινα πράξειν ὑπὲρ
 ἡμῶν καθ' ἡμῶν εὐρηται, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡμῖν ἐστί,
 κἂν μὴ νῦν ἐθέλωμεν ἐκεῖ πολεμεῖν αὐτῷ, ἐνθάδ' ἴσως
 ἀναγκασθυσόμεθα τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἂν ταῦτα εἰδῶμεν, καὶ τὰ
 c δέοντα ἐσόμεθα ἐγνώκοτες καὶ λόγων ματαίων ἀπηλλαγμένοι·
 οὐ γὰρ ἅττα ποτ' ἔσται δεῖ σκοπεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅτι φαυλ', ἂν μὴ
 προσέχητε τοῖς πράγμασι τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα ποιεῖν
 ἐθέλητ', εὖ εἰδέναι.

- 12 Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὕτ' ἄλλοτε πώποτε πρὸς χάριν εἰλόμην
 λέγειν, ὅ τι ἂν μὴ καὶ συνοίσειν πεπεισμένος ὧ, νῦν τε ἄ
 γινώσκω πάνθ' ἀπλῶς, οὐδὲν ὑποστειλάμενος, πεπαρβή-
 σιασμαι. Ἐβουλόμην δ' ἂν, ὥσπερ ὅτι ὑμῖν συμφέρει τὰ
 βέλτιστα ἀκούειν οἶδα, οὕτως εἰδέναι συνοίσειν καὶ τῷ τὰ βέλ-
 τιστα εἰπόντι· πολλῷ γὰρ ἂν ἥδιον εἶπον. Νῦν δ' ἐπ' ἀδή-
 λοις οὔσι τοῖς ἀπὸ τούτων ἑμμαντῶ γενησομένοις, ὅμως ἐπὶ τῷ
 συνοίσειν, ἐὰν πράξῃτε, ταῦτα πεπεῖσθαι λέγειν αἰροῦμαι.
 Νικῆν δ' ὅ τι πᾶσιν ὑμῖν μέλλει συνοίσειν.

ΠΕΡΙ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ.

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Μηκρομένου τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ περὶ Ἀμφιπόλεως εἰρήνης ἐπιθύμησαν ὁ τε Φίλιππος καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι κακῶς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ φερόμενοι, ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος βουλόμενος δ' ὑπέσχετο θειταλοῖς τε καὶ Θηβαίοις ἐπιτελεῖσαι. Ὑπέσχετο δὲ τοῖς μὲν Θηβαίοις Ὀρχομενὸν παραδῶσειν καὶ Κορώνειαν, πόλεις Βοιωτίας, ἀμφοτέρους δὲ τὸν Φωκεὶν καταλύσειν πόλεμον. Τοῦτο δὲ ἦν ἀδύνατον αὐτῷ πολεμίων ὄντων Ἀθηναίων· καὶ γὰρ πρότερον βουλευθεὶς εἰσβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα τῶν Ἀθηναίων περιπλευσάντων ταῖς ναυσὶν εἰς τὰς κολουμένας Πύλας, ὑπ' ἐνίων δὲ Θερμοπύλας, ἀπεκωλύθη τῆς εἰσόδου. Νῦν τοίνυν εἰρήνην ποιησάμενος πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, μηδενὸς κωλύσαντος παρελθὼν εἰςω Πυλῶν, τὸ Φωκεῖν ἔθνος ἀνάστατον πεποιήκει, καὶ τὴν Φωκίαν ἐν τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι χώραν καὶ τὰς ἐκείνων ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ψήφους παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων εἴληφε. Πέπομφε δὲ καὶ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πρέσβεις, ἀξίῳ καὶ αὐτοὺς ταῦτα συγχωρεῖν. Καὶ ὁ Δημοσθένης παραινεῖ συγχωρεῖν, οὐ τῷ πράγματι συνιστάμενος ὡς ὀρθῶς ἔχοντι, οὐδὲ δίκαιον εἶναι λέγων μετῴχιον Ἑλληνικοῦ συνεδρίου τὸν Μακεδόνα, ἀλλὰ δεδῶναι φάσκων μὴ καταναγκασθῶσι κοινὸν πόλεμον πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἔχειν. Προσκερουκίναται γὰρ λέγει τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἄλλους δι' ἄλλας τινὰς αἰτίας, τούτους δὲ κοινῇ πολεμήσειν, εἰ αὐτοῖς δώσωμεν, φησί, κοινήν αἰτίαν ταύτην καθ' ἡμῶν, ὅτι μόνοι τοῖς τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐπιστάμεθα δόγμασιν, ὥστε κάλλιον τὴν εἰρήνην τηρεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα Φιλίππου παρεληλυθότος εἰσω Πυλῶν καὶ ἐπελθεῖν δυναμένου τῇ Ἀττικῇ, ἣ περὶ μικροῦ τηλικούτου κίνδυνον ἄρασθαι.

Οὗτος δὲ ὁ λόγος παρεσκευάσθαι μὲν, οὐ μὴν εἰρησθαι μοι δοκεῖ. Κατηγορῶν γὰρ ὁ ῥήτωρ Αἰσχίνου καὶ τοῦτο μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτοῦ διαβάλλει, ὅτι συνεβούλευε Φίλιππον Ἀμφικτύονα εἶναι ψηφίσασθαι, μηδενὸς ἄλλου τολμῶντος τοῦτο εἰσηγήσασθαι, μηδὲ Φιλοκράτους τοῦ πάντων ἀναιδιστάτου. Οὐκ ἂν οὖν αὐτὸς περὶ τούτων συμβουλευτικῶς τὸν Αἰσχίνην ἐπ' αὐτοῖς διέβαλλεν, ἀλλὰ δηλονότι τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἔδειξε, μὴ δόξῃ φιλεπκρίζειν καὶ χρήμασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως πεισθεὶς τσιαυτήν γνώμην ἀποφῆναι, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ πρὸς τσιαυτήν τινὰ ὑπόνοιαν ἱστάμενος φαίνεται, συνιστὰς ἑαυτὸν ὡς εἴνουν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἀνωροδόητον.

Ὅρῳ μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰ παρόντα πράγματα πολλὰ ἂν λὴν δυσκολίαν ἔχοντα καὶ ταραχὴν οὐ μόνον τῷ πολλὰ ἂν προσέσθαι καὶ μηδὲν εἶναι προὔργου περὶ αὐτῶν εὖ λέγειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῶν ὑπολοίπων κατὰ ταῦτα μηδὲ καθ' ἐν τὸ συμφέρον πάντας ἡγεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ὧδὲ τοῖς δὲ ἐτέρως δοκεῖν· δυσκόλουν δ' ὄντος φύσει καὶ χαλεποῦ τοῦ βουλευέσθαι,

Α ἔτι πολλῷ χαλεπώτερον ὑμεῖς αὐτὸ πεποιήκατε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι πάντες ἄνθρωποι πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων εἰώθασι χρῆσθαι τῷ βουλευέσθαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ μετὰ τὰ πράγματα. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου συμβαίνει παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ὃν οἶδ' ἐγώ, τὸν μὲν οἷς ἂν ἀμάρτητε ἐπιτιμῶντα εὐδοκιμεῖν καὶ δοκεῖν εὖ λέγειν, τὰ δὲ πράγματα καὶ περὶ ὧν βουλευέσθε ἐκφεύγειν ὑμᾶς. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καίπερ τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων οἶμαι—καὶ πεπεικῶς ἑμαυτὸν ἀνέστηκα,—ἂν ἰθελήσγητε τοῦ θορυβεῖν καὶ φιλονεικεῖν ἀποστάντες ἀκούειν, ὥς ὑπὲρ πόλεως βουλευομένοις καὶ τηλικούτων πραγμάτων προσήκει, ἔξιν καὶ β λέγειν καὶ συμβουλευεῖν δι' ὧν καὶ τὰ παρόντα ἔσται βελτίω καὶ τὰ προεμένα σωθήσεται.

2 Ἀκριβῶς δὲ εἰδὼς ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ λέγειν περὶ ὧν αὐτὸς εἶπέ τις καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ παρ' ὑμῖν αἰεὶ τῶν πάντων λυσιστελούντων τοῖς τολμῶσιν ὃν, οὕτως ἡγοῦμαι φορτικὸν καὶ ἐπαχθεῖς ὥστε ἀνάγκη οὔσαν ὁρῶν ὁμῶς ἀποκνῶ. Νομίζω δ' ἄμεινον ἂν ὑμῶς περὶ ὧν νῦν ἐρῶ κρίναι, μικρὰ τῶν πρότερόν ποτε ῥηθέντων ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μνημονεύσαντας. Ἐγὼ γὰρ ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι πρῶτον μὲν, ἥνικ' ἐπειθον ὑμᾶς τῶν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ πραγμάτων ταραττομένων βοηθεῖν Πλουτάρχῳ καὶ c πόλεμον ἄδοξον καὶ δαπανηρὸν ἄρασθαι, πρῶτος καὶ μόνος παρελθὼν ἀντίειπον καὶ μόνον οὐ διεσπάσθην ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπὶ μικροῖς λήμμασι πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἀμαρτάνειν ὑμᾶς πεισάντων· καὶ χρόνον βραχείος διελθόντος, μετὰ τοῦ προσοφλεῖν αἰσχύνῃ καὶ παθεῖν οἷα τῶν ὄντων ἀνθρώπων οὐδένας πώποτε πεπόνθασιν ὑπὸ τούτων οἷς ἐβοήθησαν, πάντες ὑμεῖς ἔγνωτε τὴν τε τῶν τότε πεισάντων κακίαν καὶ τὰ βέλτιστα εἰρηκῦτα ἐμέ. Πάλιν τοῖνον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατιδὼν Νεοπτόλεμον τὸν ὑποκριτὴν τῷ μὲν τῆς τέχνης προσχήματι τυγχάνοντ' ἀδείας, κακὰ δ' ἐργαζόμενον τὰ μέγιστα τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ

D παρ' ὑμῶν διοικοῦντα Φιλίππῳ καὶ πρυτανεύοντα, παρελθὼν εἶπον εἰς ὑμᾶς, οὐδεμιᾶς ἰδίας οὔτ' ἐχθρας οὔτε συκοφαντίας ἔνεκεν, ὥς ἐκ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἔργων γέγονε δηλόν. Καὶ οὐκέτ' ἐν τούτοις αἰτιάσομαι τοὺς ὑπὲρ Νεοπτολέμου λέγοντας (οὐδὲ εἷς γὰρ ἦν) ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς· εἰ γὰρ ἐν Διονύσου τραγῳδοῦς ἐθεάσασθε, ἀλλὰ μὴ περὶ σωτηρίας καὶ κοινῶν πραγμάτων ἦν ὁ λόγος, οὐκ ἂν οὕτως οὔτ' ἐκείνου πρὸς χάριν οὔτ' ἐμοῦ πρὸς ἀπέχθειαν ἠκούσατε. Καίτοι τοῦτό γε ὑμᾶς οἶμαι νῦν ἀπαντας ῥησθῆσθαι, ὅτι τὴν τότε ἀφίξιν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐποιήσατο ὑπὲρ τοῦ τάκεϊ χρήματ' ὀφειλόμενα, ὥς ἔφη, κομίσας δεῦρο λειτουργεῖν· καὶ τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ πλείστῳ

χρησάμενος, ὡς δεινὸν εἶ τις ἐγκαλεῖ τοῖς ἐκείθεν ἐνθάδε τὰς Δ
εὐπορίας ἀγνοοῖν, ἐπειδὴ διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀδείας ἔτυχεν, ἣν
ἐνθάδ' ἐκέκτητο οὐσίαν φανεράν, ταύτην ἐξαργυρίσας πρὸς
ἐκείνον ἀπώγων οἴχεται. Δύο μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὧν προείπον
ἐγώ, μαρτυρεῖ τοῖς γεγενημένοις λόγοις, ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως,
οἷά περ ἦν, ἀποφανθέντα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ· τὸ τρίτον δ', ὧ ἄνδρες
'Αθηναῖοι' καὶ μόνον ἐν τούτ' εἰπὼν ἔτι καὶ δὴ περὶ ὧν παρ-
ελήλυθα ἔρω· ἤνικα τοὺς δρκους τοὺς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπει-
ληφότες ἤκομεν οἱ πρέσβεις, τότε Θεσπιάς τινων καὶ Πλα-
ταιᾶς ὑπισχνουμένων οἰκισθῆσεσθαι καὶ τοὺς μὲν Φωκέας τὸν
Φίλιππον, ἂν γένηται κύριος, σώσειν, τὴν δὲ Θηβαίων πόλιν Β
διοικεῖν, καὶ τὸν Ὀρωπὸν ὑμῖν ὑπάρξειν, καὶ τὴν Εὐβοίαν
ἀντ' Ἀμφιπόλεως ἀποδοθήσεσθαι, καὶ τοιαύτας ἐλπίδας καὶ
φανακισμούς, οἷς ἐπαχθέντες ὑμεῖς οὔτε συμφέρως οὔτ' ἴσως
καλῶς προείσθε Φωκέας, οὐδὲν τούτων οὔτ' ἐξαπατήσας οὔτε
σιγήσας ἐγὼ φαιήσομαι, ἀλλὰ προειπὼν ὑμῖν, ὡς οἶδ' ὅτι
μνημονεύετε, ὅτι ταῦτα οὔτε οἶδα οὔτε προσδοκῶ, νομίζω δὲ
τὸν λέγοντα ληρεῖν.

Ταῦτα τοίνυν ἔπειθ', ὅσα φαίνομαι βέλτιον τῶν ἄλλων Γ
προορῶν, οὐδ' εἰς μίαν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι οὔτε δεινότητα
οὔτε ἀλαζονείαν ἐπαυρίσω, οὐδὲ προσποιήσομαι δι' οὐδὲν ἄλλο C
γινώσκειν καὶ προαισθάνεσθαι πλὴν δι' ἃ ἂν ὑμῖν εἴπω, δύο·
ἐν μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δι' εὐτυχίαν, ἣν συμπασης ἐγὼ
τῆς ἐν ἀνθρώποις οὔσης δεινότητος καὶ σοφίας ὀρῶ κρατοῦσαν,
ἕτερον δέ, προῖκα τὰ πράγματα κρίνω καὶ λογίζομαι, καὶ
οὐδὲν λῆμμι ἂν οὐδεὶς ἔχει πρὸς οἷς ἐγὼ πεπολίτευμαι καὶ
λέγω δεῖξαι προσηρημένον. Ὅρθον οὖν, ὅ τι ἂν ποτε ἀπ'
αὐτῶν ὑπάρχη τῶν πραγμάτων, τὸ συμφέρον φαίνεται μοι.
Ὅταν δ' ἐπὶ θάτερα ὥσπερ εἰς τρυτάνην ἀργύριον προσ-
ενέγκης, οἴχεται φέρον καὶ καθεῖλκυε τὸν λογισμόν ἐφ' αὐτό,
καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἐτ' ὀρθῶς οὐδ' ὑγιῶς ὁ τοῦτο ποιήσας περὶ οὐδενὸς D
λογίσαιτο.

Ἐν μὲν οὖν ἐγῶγε πρῶτον ὑπάρχειν φημι δεῖν, ὅπως εἴτε 4
συμμάχους εἴτε σύνταξιν εἴτ' ἄλλο βούλεται τις κατασκευά-
ζειν τῇ πόλει, τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν εἰρήνην μὴ λύων τοῦτο ποιήσει,
οὐχ ὡς θαυμαστὴν οὐδ' ὡς ἀξίαν οὔσαν ὑμῶν· ἀλλ' ὅποια τίς
ποτ' ἐστὶν αὕτη, μὴ γενέσθαι μᾶλλον εἶχε τοῖς πράγμασι
καιρὸν ἣ γεγενημένην νῦν δι' ἡμᾶς λυθῆναι· πολλὰ γάρ
προϊέμεθα, ὧν ὑπαρχόντων τότε ἂν ἡ νῦν ἀσφαλέστερος καὶ
ῥᾶν ἦν ἡμῖν ὁ πόλεμος. Δεύτερον δέ, ὀρᾶν ὅπως μὴ προ-
αζόμεθα, ὧ αἰεὶ δρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς συνεληλυθότας τούτους

Α καὶ φάσκοντας Ἀμφικτύοντας νῦν εἶναι εἰς ἀνάγκην καὶ πρό-
 φασιν κοινοῦ πολέμου πρὸς ἡμᾶς. Ἐγὼ γάρ, εἰ γένοιθ' ἡμῖν
 πρὸς Φίλιππον πάλιν πόλεμος δι' Ἀμφίπολιν ἢ τι τοιοῦτο
 ἔγκλημα ἴδιον, οὐ μὴ μετέχουσι Θετταλοὶ μηδ' Ἀργεῖοι μηδὲ
 Θηβαῖοι, οὐκ ἂν ἡμῖν οὔμαι τούτων οὐδένα πολεμῆσαι, καὶ
 πάντων ἥκιστα (καὶ μοι μὴ θορυβήσῃ μηδεὶς πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι)
 Θηβαίους, οὐχ ὥς ἡδέως ἔχουσιν ἡμῖν, οὐδ' ὥς οὐκ ἂν
 χαρίζοντο Φιλίππῳ, ἀλλ' ἴσασιν ἀκριβῶς, εἰ καὶ πάντῃ φησί
 τις αὐτοὺς ἀναισθήτους εἶναι, ὅτι εἰ γενήσεται πόλεμος πρὸς
 ὑμᾶς αὐτοῖς, τὰ μὲν κακὰ πάνθ' ἔξουσιν αὐτοί, τοῖς δ' ἀγα-
 θοῖς ἐφεδρεύων ἕτερος καθεδεῖται. Οὐκουν πρόοιεν' ἂν ἑαν-
 νοῖς εἰς τοῦτο, μὴ κοινῆς τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς αἰτίας οὕσης τοῦ
 πολέμου. Οὐδέ γε εἰ πάλιν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους πολεμῆσαι-
 μεν δι' Ὀρωπὸν ἢ τι τῶν ἰδίων, οὐδὲν ἂν ἡμᾶς παθεῖν ἡγοῦ-
 μαι· καὶ γὰρ ἡμῖν κακείνους τοὺς βοηθοῦντας ἂν οἶμαι, εἰς
 τὴν οἰκείαν εἰ τις ἐμβάλοι, βοηθεῖν, οὐ συνεπιστρατεύσειν
 οὐδετέρους. Καὶ γὰρ αἱ συμμαχίαι τούτον ἔχουσι τὸν τρόπον,
 ὃν καὶ φροντίσειεν ἂν τις, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα φύσει τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν.
 Οὐκ ἄκρι τῆς ἴσης ἕκαστός ἐστιν εὐνους οὐθ' ἡμῖν οὔτε Θη-
 βαίοις, σῶς τε εἶναι καὶ κρατεῖν τῶν ἄλλων, ἀλλὰ σῶς μὲν
 εἶναι πάντες ἂν βούλονται ἐνεχ' αὐτῶν, κρατήσαντας δὲ τοὺς
 ἐτέρους δεσπότας ὑπάρχειν αὐτῶν οὐδὲ εἰς. Τί οὖν ἡγοῦμαι
 φοβερόν, καὶ τί φυλάσσειν φημι δεῖν ἡμᾶς; μὴ κοινὴν πρό-
 φασιν καὶ κοινὸν ἔγκλημα ὃ μέλλων πόλεμος πρὸς ἅπαντας
 λάβη. Εἰ γὰρ Ἀργεῖοι μὲν καὶ Μεσσήνιοι καὶ Μεγαλοπολί-
 ται καὶ τινες τῶν λοιπῶν Πελοποννησίων, ὅσοι τὰ αὐτὰ τού-
 τοις φρονοῦσι, διὰ τὴν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἡμῖν ἐπικηρυ-
 κείαν ἐχθρῶς σχήσουσι καὶ τὸ δοκεῖν ἐκδέχεσθαι τι τῶν ἐκεί-
 νοις πεπραγμένων, Θηβαῖοι δὲ ἔχουσι μὲν, ὥς λέγουσιν,
 ἀπεχθῶς, ἔτι δὲ ἐχθροτέρως σχήσουσιν, ὅτι τοὺς παρ' ἐκείνων
 Δ φεύγοντας σώζομεν καὶ πάντα τρόπον τὴν δυσμένειαν ἐνδεικ-
 νύμεθ' αὐτοῖς, Θετταλοὶ δ', ὅτι τοὺς Φωκῶν φυγάδας σώζομεν,
 Φίλιππος δέ, ὅτι κωλύομεν αὐτὸν κοινωνεῖν τῆς Ἀμφικτυονίας,
 φοβοῦμαι μὴ πάντες περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἕκαστος ὀργιζόμενος
 κοινὸν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἀγάγῃ τὸν πόλεμον, τὰ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων
 δόγματα προσησάμενοι, εἴτ' ἐπισπασθῶσιν ἕκαστοι πέρα τοῦ
 συμφέροντος ἑαυτοῖς ἡμῖν πολεμῆσαι, ὥσπερ καὶ περὶ Φωκίας.
 Ἰστε γὰρ ὀφείλουσιν τοῦθ', ὅτι νῦν Θηβαῖοι καὶ Φίλιππος καὶ Θετ-
 ταλοὶ οὐχὶ ταῦτ' ἕκαστοι μάλιστα ἐσπουδακότες ταῦτ' αὐ-
 τὰ πᾶσι ἐπραξαν· οἷον Θηβαῖοι τὸν μὲν Φίλιππον παρελθεῖν
 καὶ λαβεῖν τὰς παρόδους οὐκ ἠδύναντο κωλύσαι, οὐδέ γε τῶν

αὐτοῖς πεπονημένων ὑστατον ἐλθόντα τὴν δόξαν ἔχειν· νυνὶ Ἀ γὰρ Θηβαῖους πρὸς μὲν τὸ τὴν χώραν κεκομίσθαι πέπρακται τι, πρὸς δὲ τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν αἰσχιστα· εἰ γὰρ μὴ παρῆλθε Φίλιππος, οὐδὲν ἂν αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει εἶναι. Ταῦτα δ' οὐκ ἠβούλοντο, ἀλλὰ τῷ τὸν Ὀρχομενὸν καὶ τὴν Κορώνειαν λαβεῖν ἐπιθυμῶν, μὴ δύνασθαι δέ, πάντα ταῦθ' ὑπέμειναν. Φίλιππον τοίνυν τινὲς μὲν δήπου τολμῶσι λέγειν ὥς οὐδ' ἠβούλετο Θηβαῖους Ὀρχομενὸν καὶ Κορώνειαν παραδοῦναι, ἀλλ' ἠναγκάσθη· ἐγὼ δὲ τούτοις μὲν ἐβρῶσθαι λέγω, ἐκεῖνο δὲ οἶδ', ὅτι οὐ μᾶλλον γε αὐτ' ἔμελεν αὐτῷ ἢ τὰς παρούδους λαβεῖν ἠβούλετο καὶ τὴν δόξαν τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ δοκεῖν δι' αὐτὸν Β κρίσιν εἰληφέναι, καὶ τὰ Πύθια θεῖναι δι' ἑαυτοῦ· καὶ ταῦτ' ἦν ὧν μάλιστα ἐγλίχετο. Θετταλοὶ δὲ γε οὐδέτερ' ἠβούλοντο τούτων, οὔτε Θηβαίους οὔτε τὸν Φίλιππον μέγαν γίγνεσθαι (ταῦτα γὰρ πάντ' ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἡγοῦντο), τῆς Πυλαίας δ' ἐπεθύμουν καὶ τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς, πλεονεκτημάτων δύοιν, κύριαι γενέσθαι· τῷ δὲ τούτων γλίχεσθαι τάδε συγκατέπραξαν. Τῶν τοίνυν ἰδίων ἔνεχ' εὐρήσετε ἕκαστον πολλὰ προηγμένον, ὧν οὐδὲν ἠβούλετο, πρᾶξαι. Τοῦτο μὲν τοίνυν, ὅτι τοιοῦτόν ἐστι, φυλακτέον ἡμῖν.

Τὰ κελευόμενα ἡμᾶς ἄρα δεῖ ποιεῖν ταῦτα φοβουμένους; 5 καὶ σὺ ταῦτα κελεύεις; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δέω. Ἄλλ' ὥς οὔτε C πράζομεν οὐδὲν ἀνάξιον ἡμῶν αὐτῶν οὐτ' ἔσται πόλεμος, νοῦν δὲ δόξομεν πᾶσιν ἔχειν καὶ τὰ δίκαια λέγειν, τοῦτ' οἶμαι δεῖν ποιεῖν. Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς θρασέως ὀτιοῦν οἰομένους ὑπομείναι δεῖν καὶ μὴ προορωμένους τὸν πόλεμον ἐκεῖνα βούλομαι λογίσασθαι. Ἡμεῖς Θηβαίους ἐῷμεν ἔχειν Ὀρωπὸν· καὶ εἴ τις ἔροιτο ἡμᾶς, κελεύσας εἰπεῖν τάληθῃ, διὰ τί; ἵνα μὴ πολεμῶμεν, φαῖμεν ἄν. Καὶ Φιλίππῳ νυνὶ κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας Ἀμφιπόλεως παρακεχωρήκαμεν, καὶ Καρδιανούς ἐῷμεν ἔξω Χερρόνησιτῶν τῶν ἄλλων τετάχθαι, καὶ τὸν Κᾶρα τὰς νήσους D καταλαμβάνειν, Χίον καὶ Κῶν καὶ Ῥόδον, καὶ Βυζαντίους κατὰγειν τὰ πλοῖα, δηλὸν ὅτι τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς εἰρήνης ἡσυχίαν πλειόνων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίαν εἶναι νομίζοντες ἢ τὸ προσκροῦναι καὶ φλονεῖκεῖν περὶ τούτων. Οὐκ οὖν εὐηθες καὶ κομιδῇ σχέτλιον, πρὸς ἐκάστους καθ' ἕνα οὕτω προσεγεγμένους περὶ τῶν οἰκείων καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτων, πρὸς πάντας περὶ τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖς σκιᾶς νυνὶ πολεμήσαι;

ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Β.

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Παραινεί διὰ τούτου τοῦ λόγου τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὁ ῥήτωρ πολέμιον ὑποπτεύειν τὸν Φίλιππον καὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ μὴ πάνυ πιστεύειν, ἀλλὰ ἐγείρεσθαι καὶ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ ἐντρεπίζεσθαι εἰς πόλεμον· ἐπιβουλεύειν γὰρ αἰτιάται καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησι τὸν Φίλιππον, καὶ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ καταμαρτυρεῖν τὰς πράξεις φησίν. Ἐπαγγέλλεται δὲ καὶ ἀποκρίσεις δώσειν πρὸς τινὰς πρίσβεις ἤκοντας, ἀπορούντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὅ τί ποτε ἀποκρίνασθαι δεῖ. Πόθεν δὲ οὗτοι καὶ περὶ τίνων ἤκουσιν, ἐν τῷ λόγῳ μὴ οὐ δηλοῦται, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν ιστοριῶν μαθεῖν δυνατόν. Κατὰ γὰρ τούτων τὸν καιρὸν ἐπεμψε πρίσβεις ὁ Φίλιππος πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, αἰτιώμενος ὅτι διαβάλλουσιν αὐτὸν μάτην πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὡς ἐπαγγελάμενον αὐτοῖς πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα, ψευδόμενον δὲ οὐδὲν γὰρ ὑποσχέσθαι φησιν οὐδὲ ἐψεύσθαι, καὶ περὶ τούτων ἰλιγγῶς ἀπαιτεῖ. Ἐπεμψαν δὲ μετὰ Φιλίππου καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Μισσηνῖοι πρίσβεις εἰς Ἀθήνας, αἰτιώμενοι καὶ οὗτοι τὸν δῆμον ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίους καταδουλομένους τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἔθνους τί ἴστι καὶ συγκεροτεῖ, αὐτοῖς δὲ περὶ ἐλευθερίας πολεμοῦσιν ἐναντιοῦνται. Ἀποροῦσιν οὖν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον ἀποκρίσεις καὶ πρὸς τὰς πόλεις, ὅτι ἔθνοι μὴ εἰσι Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων καὶ Μισσηνίων μετὰ Φιλίππου σύστασιν καὶ μισοῦσι καὶ ὑποπτεύουσιν, οὐ μὴν ἀποφύνασθαι δύνανται δίκαια πράττειν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν Φίλιππον διημαρτήκασιν μὴ ὧν ἤλπισαν, οὐ μὴν ὑπ' ἐκείνου γε αὐτοῦ δοκοῦσιν ἐξηπατηῆσθαι· οὗτοι γὰρ ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἐνέγραψεν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐπαγγελίαν οὐδεμίαν, οὗτοι διὰ τῶν ἰδίων πρίσβιων ἐποίησάτ' οὐκ ὑπόσχασιν, ἀλλὰ Ἀθηναίων τινὲς ἦσαν οἱ τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἱλπίδα καταστήσαντες ὡς Φίλιππος Φωκίας σώσει καὶ τὴν Θηβαίων ἔβριν καταλύσει. Διὰ τοῦτο ὁ Δημοσθένης τῶν ἀποκρίσεων μνησθεὶς ἐπαγγέλλεται μὴ αὐτὰς δώσειν, φησὶ δὲ ὅτι δίκαιον ἦν τοῦς τὴν δυσχέρειαν πεποιηκότας, ἐκείνους καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἀπαιτεῖσθαι, τοὺς ἀπατήσαντας, φησὶ, τὸν δῆμον καὶ ἀνοίξαντας Φιλίππῳ Πύλας. Ταῦτα δὲ εἰς τὸν Ἀλκιβίην αἰνίττεται, προκατασκευαζόμενος, ὡς φασί, τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ κατηγορίαν τῆς παραπρίσβειας, ἣν ὑστερον ἐνιστήσατο, καὶ προδιαβάλλων αὐτὸν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

- 1 Ὅταν ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι λόγοι γίγνωνται περὶ ὧν Φίλιππος πράττει καὶ βιάζεται παρὰ τὴν εἰρήνην, αἰεὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν λόγους καὶ δικαίους καὶ φιланθρώπους ὥρῳ φαινομένους, καὶ λέγειν μὲν ἅπαντας αἰεὶ τὰ δέοντα δοκοῦντας τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας Φιλίππου, γιγνόμενον δ' οὐδὲν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν τῶν δεόντων οὐδ' ὧν ἕνεκα ταῦτ' ἀκούειν ἄξιον· ἀλλ' εἰς τοῦτο

ἤδη προηγμένα τυγχάνει πάντα τὰ πράγματα τῇ πόλει, ὥστ' ἂ ὅσῃ τις ἂν μᾶλλον καὶ φανερώτερον ἐξελέγχῃ Φίλιππον καὶ τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰρήνην παραβαίνοντα καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐπιβουλευόντα, τοσοῦτ' ὅ τ' ἡ χρῆ ποιεῖν συμβουλευῶσαι χαλεπώτερον. Αἴτιον δὲ τούτων, ὅτι πάντες ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς πλεονεκτεῖν ζητοῦντας ἔργῳ κωλύειν καὶ πράξειςιν, οὐχὶ λόγοις εἶον, — πρῶτον μὲν ἡμεῖς οἱ παριόντες τούτων μὲν ἀφίσταμεν, καὶ γράφειν καὶ συμβουλευεῖν, τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπέχθειαν ἀκνοῦντες, οἷα ποιεῖ δέ, ὡς δεινὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ, ταῦτα διεκτερόμεθα· ἔπειθ' ὑμεῖς οἱ καθήμενοι, ὡς μὲν ἂν εἴποιτε δικαίους λόγους καὶ λέγοντος ἄλλου συνείητε, ἄμεινον Φίλιππον παρεσκευασθε, ὡς δὲ κωλύσαι' ἂν ἐκείνον πράττειν ταῦτα ἐφ' ὧν ἐστὶ νῦν, παντελῶς ἀργῶς ἔχετε. Συμβαίνει δὲ πρῶγμα ἀναγκαῖον, οἶμαι, καὶ ἴσως εἰκός, ἐν οἷς ἑκάτεροι διατριβέτε καὶ περὶ ᾧ σπουδάζετε, ταῦτ' ἄμεινον ἑκατέρους ἔχειν, ἐκείνῳ μὲν αἱ πράξεις, ὑμῖν δ' οἱ λόγοι. Εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ νῦν λέγειν δικαιότερα ὑμῖν ἔφαρκε, ῥάδιον, καὶ πόνος οὐδεὶς πρόσεστι τῇ πράγματι· εἰ δ' ὅπως τὰ παρόντ' ἐπανορθωθήσεται δεῖ σκοπεῖν, καὶ μὴ προελθόντα ἐνι πορρωτέρῳ λήσει πάντας ἡμᾶς, μηδ' ἐπιστήσεται μέγεθος δυνάμειος πρὸς ἣν οὐδ' ἀντῆραι ἐννησούμεθα, οὐχ' ὡς αὐτοὺς τρόπος ὅσπερ πρότερον τοῦ βουλευέσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς λέγουσιν ἅπασι καὶ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὑμῖν τὰ βέλτεστα καὶ τὰ σώσοντα τῶν ῥήσεων καὶ τῶν ἡδίστων προαιφετέον.

Πρῶτον μὲν, εἰ τις ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι θαρρῆι ὁρῶν ἡλικος 2 ἤδη καὶ ὥσων κύριός ἐστι Φίλιππος, καὶ μηδένα οἶσται κίνδυνον φέρειν τοῦτο τῇ πόλει μηδ' ἐφ' ὑμᾶς πάντα παρασκευάζεσθαι, θαυμάζω καὶ δεηθῆναι πάντων ὁμοίως ὑμῶν βούλομαι τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἀκοῦσαί μου διὰ βραχείων, δι' οὓς τάναντία ἐμοὶ παρέστηκεν προσδοκᾶν καὶ δι' ὧν ἐχθρὸν ἡγοῦμαι Φίλιππον, ἵν' εἰαν μὲν ἐγὼ δοκῶ βέλτιον προορᾶν, ἐμοὶ πεισθῆτε, εἰαν ᾧ οἱ θαρροῦντες καὶ πεπιστευκότες αὐτῷ, τούτοις προσθήσεσθε. Ἐγὼ γοῖνυν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι λογιζομαι, τίνων ὁ Φίλιππος κύριος πρῶτον μετὰ τὴν εἰρήνην κατέστη; Πυλῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν Φωκεῦσι πραγμάτων. Τί οὖν; πῶς τούτοις ἐχρήσατο; ᾧ Θηβαῖοις συμφέρει καὶ οὐχ' ᾧ τῇ πόλει, πράττειν προεῖλετο. Τί δὴ ποτε; ὅτι πρὸς πλεονεξίαν, οἶμαι, καὶ τὸ πάνθ' ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιήσασθαι τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἐξετάζων, καὶ οὐ πρὸς εἰρήνην οὐδ' ἡσυχίαν οὐδὲ δίκαιον οὐδέν, εἶδε τοῦτο ὀρθῶς, ὅτι τῇ μὲν ἡμετέρῃ πᾶλει καὶ τοῖς ἡθεσι τοῖς ἡμετέροις οὐδέν ἂν ἐνδείξαιτο τοσοῦτον οὐδὲ ποιήσευν, ἐφ' ὃ πεισθέντες ὑμεῖς

- Α τῆς ἰδίας ἕνεκ' ὠφελείας τῶν ἄλλων τινὰς Ἑλλήνων ἐκείνῳ
 προεῖσθε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ δικαίου λόγον ποιούμενοι, καὶ τὴν
 προσοῦσαν ἀδοξίαν τῷ πράγματι φεύγοντες, καὶ πανθ' ἃ
 προσήκει προορώμενοι, ὁμοίως ἐναντιώσεσθε, ἂν τι τοιοῦτον
 ἐπιχειρῇ πράττειν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ πολεμοῦντες τύχοιτε. Τοὺς
 δὲ Θηβαίους ἡγεῖτο, ὅπερ συνέβη, ἀντὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῖς γιγνο-
 μένων τὰ λοιπὰ ἐάσειν ὅπως βούλεται πράττειν ἑαυτόν, καὶ
 οὐχ ὅπως ἀντιπράξειν καὶ διακωλύσειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συστρατεύ-
 σαι, ἂν αὐτοὺς κελεύῃ. Καὶ νῦν τοὺς Μεσσηνίους καὶ τοὺς
 Ἀργείους ταῦτά ὑπεληφώς εἰς ἐποίει. Ὁ καὶ μέγιστόν ἐστι
 Β καθ' ὑμῶν ἐγκώμιον, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· κέκρισθε γὰρ ἐκ
 τούτων τῶν ἔργων μόνοι τῶν πάντων μηδεὶνός ἂν κέρδους τὰ
 κοινὰ δίκαια τῶν Ἑλλήνων προσέσθαι, μηδ' ἀνταλλάξασθαι
 μηδεμιᾶς χάριτος μηδ' ὠφελείας τὴν εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας εὖ-
 νοιαν. Καὶ ταῦτ' εἰκότως καὶ περὶ ὑμῶν οὕτως ὑπέληφε καὶ
 κατ' Ἀργείων καὶ Θηβαίων ὥς ἑτέρως, οὐ μόνον εἰς τὰ παρ-
 όντα ὁρῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πρὸ τούτων λογιζόμενος. Εὐρίσκει
 γάρ, οἶμαι, καὶ ἀκούει τοὺς μὲν ὑμετέρους προγόνους, ἐξόν
 αὐτοῖς τῶν λοιπῶν ἄρχειν Ἑλλήνων ὥστ' αὐτοὺς ὑπακούειν
 βασιλεῖ, οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἀνασχομένους τὸν λόγον τοῦτον, ἡνίκ'
 C ἦλθεν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τούτων πρόγονος περὶ τούτων κῆρυξ,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐκλιπεῖν προελομένους καὶ παθεῖν ὀτιοῦν
 ὑπομείναντας, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πράξαντας ταῦθ' ἃ πάντες ἀεὶ
 γλίσχονται λέγειν, ἥξίως δ' οὐδεὶς εἰπεῖν δεδύνηται, διόπερ
 καὶ γὰρ παραλείψω δικαίως (ἐστὶ γὰρ μείζονα τὰ κείνων ἔργα
 ἢ ὥς τῷ λόγῳ τις ἂν εἴποι), τοὺς δὲ Θηβαίων καὶ Ἀργείων
 προγόνους τοὺς μὲν συστρατεύσαντας τῷ βαρβάρῳ, τοὺς δ'
 οὐκ ἐναντιωθέντας. Οἶζεν οὖν ἀμφοτέρους ἰδίᾳ τὸ λυσιστελοῦν
 ἀγαπήσαντας, οὐχ ὃ τι συνοίσει κοινῇ τοῖς Ἕλλησι σκεψο-
 μένους. Ἡγεῖτ' οὖν, εἰ μὲν ὑμᾶς ἔλοιτο φίλους, ἐπὶ τοῖς δι-
 D καίοις αἰρήσεσθαι, εἰ δ' ἐκείνοις προσθεῖτο, συνεργοὺς ἔξειν τῆς
 αὐτοῦ πλεονεξίας. Διὰ ταῦτ' ἐκείνους ἀνθ' ὑμῶν καὶ τότε
 καὶ νῦν αἰρεῖται. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ τριήρεις γε ὀρᾷ πλείους αὐτοῖς
 ἢ ὑμῖν οὕσας· οὐδ' ἐν τῇ μεσογείᾳ τιν' ἀρχὴν εὗρηκε, τῆς δ'
 ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ τῶν ἐμπορίων ἀφέστηκεν· οὐδ' ἀμνημονεῖ
 τοὺς λόγους οὐδὲ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, ἐφ' αἷς τῆς εἰρήνης
 ἔτυχεν.
 Ε
 3 Ἀλλὰ νῆ Δ', εἴποι τις ἂν ὥς πάντα ταῦτ' εἰδώς, οὐ
 πλεονεξίας ἕνεκεν οὐδ' ὧν ἐγὼ κατηγορῶ τότε ταῦτ' ἔπραξεν,
 ἀλλὰ τῷ δικαιότερα τοὺς Θηβαίους ἢ ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῦν. Ἀλλὰ
 τοῦτον καὶ μόνον πάντων τῶν λόγων οὐκ ἔνεστ' αὐτῷ νῦν

εἰπεῖν· ὁ γὰρ Μεσσήνην Λακεδαιμονίους ἀφείναι κελεύων Δ
πῶς ἂν Ὀρχομενὸν καὶ Κορώνειαν τότε Θηβαίους παραδούς
τῷ δίκαια νομίζειν ταῦτ' εἶναι πεποιηκέναι σήψαιτο;

Ἄλλ' ἐβιάσθη νῆ Δία (τοῦτο γάρ ἐσθ' ὑπόλοιπον) καὶ παρὰ 4
γνώμην, τῶν Θετταλῶν ἱππέων καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων ὀπλιτῶν ἐν
μέσῃ ληφθεὶς, συνεχώρησε ταῦτα. Καλῶς. Οὐκοῦν φασὶ
μὲν μέλλειν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους αὐτὸν ὑπόπτως ἔχειν, καὶ
λογοποιούσιν περιμόντες τινὲς ὡς Ἐλάτειαν τειχεῖ· ὁ δὲ
ταῦτα μὲν μέλλει καὶ μελλήσει, ὡς ἐγὼ κρίνω, τοῖς Μεσση-
νίοις δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀργείοις ἐπὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους συμβάλλ-
λαιν οὐ μέλλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ξένους εἰσπέμπει καὶ χρήματ' ἀπο- B
στέλλει καὶ δύναμιν μεγάλην ἔχων αὐτός ἐστι προσδόκιμος.
Τοὺς μὲν ὄντας ἐχθροὺς Θηβαίων Λακεδαιμονίους ἀναιρεῖ,
οὓς δ' ἀπόλεσεν αὐτὸς πρότερον Φωκίας νῦν σώζει; καὶ τίς
ἂν ταῦτα πιστεύσειεν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐδ' ἂν ἡγοῦμαι Φιλίπ-
πον, οὐτ' εἰ τὰ πρῶτα βιασθεὶς ἄκων ἔπραξεν οὐτ' ἂν εἰ νῦν
ἀπεγίγνωσκε Θηβαίους, τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐχθροῖς συνεχῶς ἐναν-
τιοῦσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ὧν νῦν ποιεῖ, κἀκεῖνα ἐκ προαιρέσεως δηλὸς
ἐστὶ ποιήσας. Ἐκ πάντων δ', ἂν τις ὀρθῶς θεωρῇ, πάντα
πραγματεύεται κατὰ τῆς πόλεως συντάττων. Καὶ τοῦτ' ἐξ
ἀνάγκης τρόπον τιν' αὐτῷ νῦν γε δὴ συμβαίνει. Λογίζεσθε C
γάρ. Ἀρχεῖν βούλεται, τούτου δ' ἀνταγωνιστὰς μόνους
ὑπέκληρεν ὑμᾶς. Ἀδικεῖ πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον, καὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸς
ἄριστα σύννοιδεν ἑαυτῷ· οἷς γὰρ οὖσιν ὑμετέροισι ἔχει, τούτοις
πάντα τᾶλλα ἀσφαλῶς κέκτηται· εἰ γὰρ Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ Ποτί-
δαιαν προεῖτο, οὐδ' ἂν οἶκοι μένειν βεβαίως ἡγεῖτο. Ἀμφό-
τερα οὖν οἶδε, καὶ ἑαυτὸν ὑμῖν ἐπιβουλεύοντα καὶ ὑμᾶς αἰσ-
θανομένους· εὖ φρονεῖν δ' ὑμᾶς ὑπολαμβάνων δικαίως ἂν
αὐτὸν μισεῖν νομίζοι, καὶ παρώξυνται, πείσεσθαι τι προσ-
δοκῶν, ἂν καιρὸν λάβητε, ἐὰν μὴ φθάσῃ ποιήσας πρότερος.
Διὰ ταῦτ' ἐγρήγορεν, ἐφέστηκεν, ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει θεραπεύει τινὰς D
Θηβαίους καὶ Πελοποννησίων τοὺς ταῦτα βουλομένους τούτοις,
οὓς διὰ μὲν πλεονεξίαν τὰ παρόντα ἀγαθήσειν οἰεται, διὰ δὲ
σκαλιότητα τρόπων τῶν μετὰ ταῦτ' οὐδὲν προύψισθαι. Καίτοι
σωφρονουσί γε καὶ μετρίως ἐναργῇ παραδείγματ' ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν,
ᾧ καὶ πρὸς Μεσσηνίους καὶ πρὸς Ἀργεῖους ἕμιγ' εἰπεῖν συν-
έβη, βέλτιον δ' ὅσως καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐστὶν εἰρησθαι.

Πῶς γὰρ οἴεσθ', ἔφην, ὧ ἄνδρες Μεσσήνιοι, δυσχερῶς 5
ἀκούειν Ὀλυνθίους, εἰ τίς τι λέγοι κατὰ Φιλίππου, κατ' ἐκεί-
νους τοὺς χρόνους, ὅτ' Ἀνθεμούντα μὲν αὐτοῖς ἀφίει, ἥς
πάντες οἱ πρότερον Μακεδονίας βασιλεῖς ἀντεποιούντο,

- Α Ποτιδαίαν δ' ἐδίδον τοὺς Ἀθηναίων ἀποίκους ἐκβάλλων, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτὸς ἀνῆρπτο, τὴν χώραν δ' ἐκείνοις ἐδεδώκει καρποῦσθαι; ἄρα προσδοκᾷ αὐτοὺς τοιαῦτα πείσεσθαι, ἢ λέγοντος ἂν τινος πιστεῦσαι οἴεσθε; ἀλλ' ὅμως, ἔφην ἐγώ, μικρὸν χρόνον τὴν ἄλλοτρίαν καρπώσάμενοι πολὺν τῆς ἑαυτῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου στέρονται, αἰσχροῦς ἐκπεσόντες, οὐ κρατηθέντες μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ προδοθέντες ὑπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ πραθέντες· οὐ γὰρ ἀσφαλεῖς ταῖς πολιτείαις αἱ πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους αὐταὶ λίαν ὁμιλίας. Τί δ' οἱ Θετταλοί; ἄρ' οἴεσθ', ἔφην, ὅτ' αὐτοῖς τοὺς τυράννους ἐξέβαλλε καὶ
- Β πάλιν Νίκαιαν καὶ Μαγνησίαν ἐδίδου, προσδοκᾷ τὴν καθεστῶσαν νῦν δεκαδαρχίαν ἔσεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς; ἢ τὸν τὴν Πυλαίαν ἀποδόντα, τοῦτον τὰς ἰδίας αὐτῶν προσόδους παραίρησεσθαι; οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα. Ἀλλὰ μὴν γέγονε ταῦτα καὶ πᾶσιν ἔστιν εἰδέναι. Ὑμεῖς δ', ἔφην ἐγώ, διδόντα μὲν καὶ ὑπισχνούμενον θεωρεῖτε Φίλιππον, ἐξηπατηκότα δ' ἤδη καὶ παρακεκρουμένον ἀπεύχεσθε, εἰ σωφρονεῖτε δή, ἰδεῖν. Ἔστι τοίνυν νῆ Δί', ἔφην ἐγώ, παντοδαπὰ εὐρημένα ταῖς πόλεσι πρὸς φυλακὴν καὶ σωτηρίαν, οἷον χαρακώματα καὶ τείχη καὶ τάφοι καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα τοιαῦτα. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἔστιν ἅπαντα
- Γ χειροποίητα, καὶ δαπάνης προσδεῖται· ἐν δέ τι κοινὸν ἢ φύσις τῶν εὐ φρονούντων ἐν ἑαυτῇ κέκτῃται φυλακτῆριον, ὃ πᾶσι μὲν ἔστιν ἀγαθὸν καὶ σωτήριον, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς πλήθεσι πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους. Τί οὖν ἔστι τοῦτο; ἀπιστία. Ταύτην φυλάττετε, ταύτης ἀντέχεσθε· ἂν ταύτην σώζητε, οὐδὲν μὴ δεινὸν πάθῃτε. Τί ζητεῖτε; ἔφην. Ἐλευθερίαν. Εἰτ' οὐχ ὁρᾶτε Φίλιππον ἄλλοτριωτάτας ταύτῃ καὶ τὰς προσηγορίας ἔχοντα; βασιλεὺς γὰρ καὶ τύραννος ἅπας ἐχθρὸς ἐλευθερίᾳ καὶ νόμοις ἐναντίος. Οὐ φυλάξεσθ' ὅπως, ἔφην, μὴ πολέμου ζητοῦντες ἀπαλλαγῆναι δεσπότην εὕρητε;
- 6 Ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες ἐκεῖνοι, καὶ θορυβοῦντες ὡς ὀρθῶς λέγε-
 Δ ται, καὶ πολλοὺς ἑτέρους λόγους παρὰ τῶν πρέσβειων καὶ παρόντος ἐμοῦ καὶ πάλιν ὕστερον ἀκούσαντες, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀποσχέσονται τῆς Φιλίππου φιλίας οὐδ' ὧν ἐπαγγέλλεται. Καὶ οὐ τοῦτό ἐστιν ἄτοπον, εἰ Μεσσηνιοὶ καὶ Πελοποννησίων τινὲς παρ' αὐτῷ λογισμῷ βέλττισθ' ὁρῶσί τι πράξουσιν· ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς οἱ καὶ συνιέντες αὐτοὶ καὶ τῶν λεγόντων ἀκούοντες ἡμῶν ὡς ἐπιβουλεύεσθε, ὡς περιτειχίζετε, ὥστε μηδὲν ἤδη ποιῆσαι λήσεθ' ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ πάντα ὑπομείναντες· οὕτως ἢ παραντίχ' ἡδονὴ καὶ ῥαστώνη μείζον ἰσχύει τοῦ ποθ' ὕστερον συνοίσειν μέλλοντος.

Περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν ὑμῖν πρακτέων καθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὑστερον γ' βουλευέσθε, ἂν σωφρονήτε· εἰ δὲ νῦν ἀποκρινάμενοι τὰ Ἀ δέοντ' ἂν εἴητ' ἐψηφισμένοι, ταῦτα δὴ λέξω. Ἦν μὲν οὖν δίκαιον ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς ἐνεγκόντας τὰς ὑποσχίσεις, ἐφ' αἷς ἐπεισθῆτε ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην, καλεῖν· οὔτε γὰρ αὐτὸς ἂν ποτε ὑπέμεινα πρεσβεύειν, οὐτ' ἂν ὑμεῖς οἷδ' ὅτι ἐπαύσασθε πολεμοῦντες, εἰ τοιαῦτα πράξειν τυχόντα εἰρήνης Φίλιππον ψέσθε· ἀλλ' ἦν πολὺ τούτων ἀφιστηκότα τὰ τότε λεγόμενα. Καὶ πάλιν γ' ἐτέρους καλεῖν τίνας; τοὺς δ' ἐγὼ γεγονυίας ἤδη τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπὸ τῆς ὑστέρας ἤκων πρεσβείας τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρκους, αἰσθόμενος φενακιζομένην τὴν πόλιν, B προὔλεγον καὶ διεμαρτυρόμην καὶ οὐκ εἶων προέσθαι Πύλας οὐδὲ Φωκίας, λέγοντας ὡς ἐγὼ μὲν ὕδωρ πίνων εἰκότως δύστροπος καὶ δύσκολός εἰμι τις ἄνθρωπος, Φίλιππος δ', ὅπερ εὐχαισθ' ἂν ὑμεῖς, ἐὰν παρέλθῃ, πράξει, καὶ Θεσπιάς μὲν καὶ Πλαταιῶς ρειχιεῖ, Θηβαίους δὲ παύσει τῆς ὕβρεως, Χερρόνησον δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῦ τέλεσι διορύξει, Εὐβοίαν δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἑρωπὸν ἀντ' Ἀμφιπόλεως ὑμῖν ἀποδώσει· ταῦτα γὰρ ἅπαντα ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἐνταῦθα μνημονεύει· οἷδ' ὅτι βηθέντα, καίπερ ὄντες οὐ δεινοὶ τοὺς ἀδικούντας μεμνησθαι. Καὶ τὸ πάντων αἰσχιστον, καὶ τοῖς ἐγόνοις πρὸς τὰς ἐλπίδας τὴν αὐτὴν C εἰρήνην εἶναι ταύτην ἐψηφίσασθε· οὕτω τελίως ὑπήχθητε. Τί δὴ ταῦτα νῦν λέγω καὶ καλεῖν φημί δεῖν τούτους; ἐγὼ νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς τάληθ' ὑμεῖς μετὰ παρρησίας ἐρῶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι. Οὐχ ἵν' εἰς λαιδορίαν ἐμπιστῶν ἐμαντῶ μὲν ἐξ ἔσου λόγον παρ' ὑμῖν ποιήσω, τοῖς δ' ἐμοὶ προσκρούσασιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς καινὴν παράσχω πρόφασιν τοῦ πάλιν τι λαβεῖν παρὰ Φιλίππου· οὐδ' ἵνα ὡς ἄλλως ἄδολισχῶ. Ἀλλ' οἶμαι ποθ' ὑμᾶς λυπήσιν, εἰ Φίλιππος πράττει, μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ νυνί· τὸ γὰρ πρᾶγμα ὁρῶ προβαῖνον, καὶ οὐχὶ βουλομένην ἂν εἰκά- ζειν ὁρθῶς, φοβούμαι δὲ μὴ λίαν ἐγγὺς ἢ τοῦτ' ἤδη. Ὅταν D οὖν μηκέτ' ὑμῖν ἀμελεῖν ἐξουσία γίγνηται τῶν συμβαινόντων, μὴδ' ἀκούθῃ ὅτι ταῦτ' ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἐστὶν ἐμοῦ μὴδὲ τοῦ δαίμονος, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ πάντες ὁρᾶτε καὶ εἰ εἰδῆτε, ὀργίλους καὶ τραχεῖς ὑμᾶς εἶσθαι νομίζω. Φοβούμαι δὲ μὴ τῶν πρίσβων σσιωπηκότων, ἐφ' οἷς αὐτοῖς συνίσασι δαδωροδοκηκόσι, τοῖς ἱπανορθοῦν τι πειρωμένοις τῶν διὰ τούτους ἀπολωλότων τῇ παρ' ὑμῶν ὀργῇ περιπεσεῖν συμβῇ· ὁρῶ γὰρ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ἐνίους οὐκ εἰς τοὺς αἰτίους ἀλλ' εἰς τοὺς ὑπὸ χεῖρα μάλιστα τὴν ὀργὴν ἀφείντας. Ἔως οὖν ἔτι μέλλει καὶ συνίσταται τὰ πράγματα καὶ κατακόομεν ἀλλήλων, ἕκαστον ὑμῶν, καίπερ

Α ἀκριβῶς εἰδότα, ὅμως ἐπαναμνησέσθαι βούλομαι τίς ὁ Φωκίας πείσας καὶ Πύλας ποιήσας προέσθαι, ὧν καταστάς ἐκεῖνος κύριος τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὁδοῦ καὶ τῆς εἰς Πελοπόννησον κύριος γέγονε, καὶ πεποιήχ' ὑμῖν μὴ περὶ τῶν δικαίων μηδ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔξω πραγμάτων εἶναι τὴν βουλὴν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν πολέμου, ὃς λυπησὶ μὲν ἕκαστον, ἐπειδὰν παρῇ, γέγονε δ' ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. Εἰ γὰρ μὴ παρεκρούσθητε τόθ' ὑμεῖς, οὐδὲν ἂν ἦν τῇ πόλει πρᾶγμα· οὔτε γὰρ ναυσὶ δῆπον κρατήσας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἦλθεν ἂν πῦτε στόλῳ Φίλιππος, οὔτε πεζῇ βαδίῳν ὑπὲρ τὰς Πύλας καὶ Φωκίας, ἀλλ' ἢ τὰ δίκαι' ἂν ἐποίει καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἄγων ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν, ἢ παραχρῆμ' ἂν ἦν ἐν ὁμοίῳ πολέμῳ δι' ὃν τότε τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπεθύμησεν. Ταῦτ' οὖν ὥς μὲν ὑπομῆσαι, νῦν ἱκανῶς εἴρηται, ὥς δ' ἂν ἐξετασθῇ μάλιστ' ἀκριβῶς, οὐδ' ἔγνοιτο, ὧ πάντες θεοί· οὐδένα γὰρ βουλοίμην ἔγωγε ἂν, μηδ' εἰ δίκαιός ἐστ' ἀπολωλέναι, μετὰ τοῦ πάντων κινδύνου καὶ τῆς ζημίας δίκην ὑποσχεῖν.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΧΕΡΡΟΝΗΣΩΙ.

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Ὁ λόγος οὗτος ὑπὲρ Διοπίθους εἴρηται καὶ ὧν ἐκεῖνος παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις κατηγορήτο. Ἦν μὲν γὰρ Χερρόνησος ἢ πρὸς Θράκην τῶν Ἀθηναίων κτῆμα ἀρχαῖον, εἰς δὲ ταύτην ἀπίστευται κατὰ τοὺς Φιλίππου καιροὺς κληροῦχος εἶναι. Ἔθος δὲ ἦν τοῦτο παλαιὸν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὅσοι πένητες ἦσαν αὐτῶν καὶ ἀκτῆμονες οἶκοι, τούτους πέμπειν ἐποίκους εἰς τὰς ἔξω πόλεις τὰς αὐτῶν· καὶ ἐλάμβανον πεμπόμενοι ὄπλα τε ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου καὶ ἐφόδιον. Καὶ νῦν τοίνυν τοῦτο γέγονε, καὶ πεπόμφασιν ἐποίκους εἰς τὴν Χερρόνησον, στρατηγὸν αὐτοῖς δόντες Διοπίθη. Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι Χερρόνησῖται τοὺς ἐπελθόντας ἐδίξαντο καὶ μετίδωκαν αὐτοῖς καὶ οἰκίαν καὶ γῆς, Καρδιανοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐδίξαντο, λέγοντες ἰδίαν χώραν οἰκεῖν καὶ οὐκ Ἀθηναίων. Ἐντεῦθεν οὖν Διοπίθης ἐπολέμει Καρδιανοῖς. Οἱ δὲ παρὰ Φιλίππου καταφεύγουσι, καὶ ὃς ἐπιστέλλει τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις μὴ βιάζεσθαι Καρδιανὸς ὥς αὐτῷ προσήκοντας, ἀλλὰ δικάσασθαι πρὸς αὐτούς, εἰ τί φασιν ἠδικῆσθαι. Ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἤκουον τούτων οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, βοήθειαν τοῖς Καρδιανοῖς ἐπέμψεν. Ἐφ' οἷς ἀγανακτήσας ὁ Διοπίθης, τοῦ Φιλίππου περὶ τὴν μεσόγειον, τὴν ἄνω Θράκην, πολεμοῦντος πρὸς τὸν Ὀδρυσῶν βασιλεῖα, τὴν παράλιον Θράκην ὑπέκουν οὖσαν τοῦ Μακεδόνης κατέδραμε καὶ ἐπόρθησεν αἰφνιδίον,

καὶ ἔφθη πρὶν Φίλιππον ἱπανελθεῖν ἀναχωρήσας εἰς τὴν Χερρόνησον καὶ ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ γενόμενος. Διόπερ ὁ Φίλιππος οὐ δυνηθεὶς ὅπλοις αὐτὸν ἀμύνασθαι πίπομφεν ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, κατηγορῶν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ λίγων αὐτὸν παραβιβηκέναι τὴν εἰρήνην ἀντικρυς. Καὶ οἱ φιλιππίζοντες τῶν ῥητόρων κατατρίχουσι Διοκίθους, καὶ κολάζειν ἀξιοῦσιν αὐτόν. Πρὸς οὗς ὁ Δημοσθένης ἐναντιούμενος διχῇ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Διοκίθους ἴσταται. Οὔτε γὰρ ἀδίκᾳ φησιν αὐτὸν πεποιηκέναι· Φίλιππον γὰρ πολὺ πρότερον παραβάντος τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ ἀδικοῦντος τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν, εἰκότως καὶ τούτον ἔργα πολέμου διαπράττεσθαι· οὔτε συμφέρειν λέγει τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις κολάσαι τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ διαλύσαι τὴν ὑπ' ἐκείνον δύναμιν, ἥτις νῦν ἀποκρούεται Χερρόνησου Φίλιππον. Τὸ δὲ ὅλον ἐπὶ πόλεμον παρακαλεῖ, καὶ τοῦ Φιλίππου πολλὴν ποιῖται κατηγορίαν ὡς ἀδίκου καὶ παρασπόνδου καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐπιβουλεύοντος.

Ἔδει μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς λέγοντας ἅπαντας 1 μῆτε πρὸς ἔχθραν ποιῆσθαι λόγον μηδένα μῆτε πρὸς χάριν, ἅλλ' ὁ βέλτιστον ἕκαστος ἡγείτο, τοῦτ' ἀποφαίνεσθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ περὶ κοινῶν πραγμάτων καὶ μεγάλων ὑμῶν βουλευομένων· ἐπεὶ δ' ἔνιοι τὰ μὲν φιλονεικίᾳ τὰ δ' ἥτινιδήποτ' αἰτία προάγονται λέγειν, ὑμῶς ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς πολλοὺς δεῖ πάντα τᾶλλ' ἀφελόντας, ἀ τῇ πόλει νομίσετε συμφέρειν, ταῦτα καὶ ψηφίζεσθαι καὶ πράττειν. Ἡ μὲν οὖν σπουδὴ περὶ τῶν ἐν Χερρόνησῳ πραγμάτων ἐστὶ καὶ τῆς στρατείας, ἣν ἐνδέκατον μῆνα τουτονὶ Φίλιππος ἐν Θρᾷκῃ ποιεῖται· τῶν δὲ λόγων οἱ πλεῖστοι περὶ ὧν Διοκίθης πράττει καὶ μέλλει β ποιεῖν εἰρηνίται. Ἐγὼ δ' ὅσα μὲν τις αἰτιάται τινα τούτων οὕς κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἐστὶν ὅταν βούλησθε κολάζειν, κἂν ἤδη δοκῇ κἂν ἐπισχοῦσι περὶ αὐτῶν σκοπεῖν ἐγχωρεῖν ἡγοῦμαι, καὶ οὐ πάννυ δεῖ περὶ τούτων οὐτ' ἐμὲ οὐτ' ἄλλον οὐδένα ἰσχυρίζεσθαι· ὅσα δ' ἐχθρὸς ὑπάρχων τῇ πόλει καὶ δυνάμει πολλῇ περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον ὧν πειράται προλαβεῖν, κἂν ἀπαξ ὑστερήσωμεν, οὐκ ἐθ' ἔχομεν σῶσαι, περὶ τούτων δ' οἶμαι τὴν ταχίστην συμφέρειν καὶ βεβουλεύεσθαι καὶ παρσκευάσθαι, καὶ μὴ τοῖς περὶ τῶν ἄλλων θορύβοις καὶ ταῖς κατηγορίαις ἀπὸ τούτων ἀποδρᾶναι.

Πολλὰ δὲ θαυμάζων τῶν εἰωθῶτων λέγεσθαι παρ' ὑμῖν, c 2 οὐδένοὺς ἦσαν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τεθαύμακα ὁ καὶ πρῶην τινὸς ἤκουσα εἰπόντος ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, ὡς ἄρα δεῖ τὸν συμβουλευόντα ἢ πολεμεῖν ἀπλῶς ἢ τὴν εἰρήνην ἄγειν συμβουλευεῖν. Ἔστι δέ, εἰ μὲν ἡσυχίαν Φίλιππος ἄγει καὶ μῆτε τῶν ἡμετέρων ἔχει παρὰ τὴν εἰρήνην μηδὲν μῆτε συσκευάζεται πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, οὐκέτι δεῖ λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς εἰρήνην

- Α Δὲ οὐχ ἦν Διοκείθης περᾶται τῇ πόλει δύναμιν παρασκευάζειν, ταύτην βασκαίνειν καὶ διαλῦσαι περᾶσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐτέραν αὐτοὺς προσπαρασκευάζειν καὶ συνενποροῦντας ἐκείνων χρημάτων καὶ τᾶλλα οἰκείως συναγωνιζομένους. Εἰ γὰρ τις ἔροιτο Φίλιππον, εἰπέ μοι, πότερ' ἂν βούλοιο τούτους τοὺς στρατιώτας οὕς Διοκείθης νῦν ἔχει, τοὺς ὁποιουστinasοῦν (οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀντιλέγω), εὐθενεῖν καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις εὐδοξεῖν καὶ πλείους γίγνεσθαι τῆς πόλεως συναγωνιζομένης, ἢ διαβαλλόντων τινῶν καὶ κατηγορούντων διασπασθῆναι καὶ διαφθαρῆναι; ταῦτ' ἂν οἶμαι φήσειεν. Εἰθ' ἂν Φίλιππος ἂν
- Β εὐχάιτο τοῖς θεοῖς, ταῦθ' ὅμων τινὲς ἐνθάδε πράττουσιν; εἴτα ἔτι ζητεῖτε πόθεν τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀπόλωλεν ἅπαντα;
- 5 Βούλομαι τοίνυν ὅμᾳς μετὰ παρῆσας ἐξετάσαι τὰ παρόντα πράγματα τῇ πόλει, καὶ σκέψασθαι τί ποιοῦμεν αὐτοὶ νῦν καὶ ὅπως χρώμεθ' αὐτοῖς. Ἡμεῖς οὔτε χρήματα εἰσφέρειν βουλόμεθα, οὔτε αὐτοὶ στρατεύεσθαι, οὔτε τῶν κοινῶν ἀπέχεσθαι δυνάμεθα, οὔτε τὰς συντάξεις Διοκείθης δίδομεν, οὐθ' ὅς' ἂν αὐτὸς αὐτῷ πορίσῃται ἔπαινοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ βασκαίνομεν καὶ σκοποῦμεν πόθεν καὶ τί μέλλει ποιεῖν καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα, οὐτ' ἐπειδὴ περ οὕτως ἔχομεν, τὰ ἡμέτερ' αὐτῶν
- Γ πράττειν ἐθέλομεν, ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν τοῖς λόγοις τοὺς τῆς πόλεως λέγοντας ἄξια ἔπαινοῦμεν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις τοῖς ἐναντιούμενοις τούτοις συναγωνιζόμεθα. Ὑμεῖς μὲν τοι εἰώθατε ἐκάστοτε τὸν παρίοντα ἐρωτᾶν τί οὖν χρὴ ποιεῖν; ἐγὼ δ' ὅμᾳς ἐρωτῆσαι βούλομαι τί οὖν χρὴ λέγειν; εἰ γὰρ μήτε εἰσίοσσετε, μήτε αὐτοὶ στρατεύσεσθε, μήτε τῶν κοινῶν ἀφέξεσθε, μήτε τὰς συντάξεις δώσετε, μήτε ὅς' ἂν αὐτὸς αὐτῷ πορίσῃται εἴασετε, μήτε τὰ ἡμέτερ' αὐτῶν πράττειν ἐθέλησετε, οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω. Εἰ γὰρ ἤδη τοσαύτην ἐξουσίαν τοῖς αἰτιάσθαι καὶ διαβάλλειν βουλομένοις δίδοτε, ὥστε καὶ περὶ ὧν φασὶ μέλλειν
- Δ αὐτὸν ποιεῖν, καὶ περὶ τούτων προκατηγορούντων ἀκροᾶσθε, τί ἂν τις λέγοι;
- 6 Ὅ τοι νυνὶ δύναται ταῦτα ποιεῖν, ἐνίοις μαθεῖν ὅμων δεῖ. Λέξω δὲ μετὰ παρῆσας· καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ἂν ἄλλως δυναίμην. Πάντες ὅσοι ποτ' ἐκπεπλεύκασι παρ' ὅμων στρατηγοί, ἢ ἐγὼ πάσχειν ὅτιοῦν τιμῶμαι, καὶ παρὰ Χίων καὶ παρὰ Ἐρυθραίων καὶ παρ' ὧν ἂν ἕκαστοι δύνωνται, τούτων τῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν οἰκούντων λέγω, χρήματα λαμβάνουσιν. Λαμβάνουσι δὲ οἱ μὲν ἔχοντες μίαν ἢ δύο ναῦς ἐλάττονα, οἱ δὲ μεῖζω δύναμιν πλείονα. Καὶ διδάσιν οἱ διδόντες οὔτε τὰ μικρὰ οὔτε τὰ πολλὰ ἀντ' οὐδενός (οὐ γὰρ οὕτω μαίνονται),

ἄλλ' ὠνούμενοι μὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι τοὺς παρ' αὐτῶν ἐκπλέοντας Α
 ἐμπόρους, μὴ συλᾶσθαι, παρακέμπεσθαι τὰ πλοῖα τὰ αὐτῶν,
 τὰ τοιαῦτα· φασὶ δ' εὐνοίας διδόναι, καὶ τοῦτο τούνομα ἔχει
 τὰ λήμματα ταῦτα. Καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν τῷ Διοκείθει στρατὸν
 ἔχοντι σαφῶς ἐστί τοῦτο δῆλον ὅτι δώσουσι χρήματα πάντες
 οὗτοι· πόθεν γὰρ οἴσθε ἄλλαθεν τὸν μῆτε λαβόντα παρ'
 ὑμῶν μηδὲν μῆτε αὐτὸν ἔχοντα ὁπόθεν μισθοδοτήσῃ στρατι-
 ώτας τρέφειν; ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ; οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ὧν
 ἀγείρει καὶ προσαιτεῖ καὶ δανείζεται, ἀπὸ τούτων διάγει.
 Οὐδὲν οὖν ἄλλο ποιοῦσιν οἱ κατηγοροῦντες ἐν ὑμῖν, ἢ προ-
 λέγουσιν ἅπασι μὴδ' ὀτιοῦν ἐκείνῳ διδόναι, ὥς καὶ τοῦ μελλή- Β
 σαι δώσουσι δίκην, μὴ τι ποιήσαντί γε ἢ καταπραξαμένῳ.
 Τοῦτ' εἰσὶν οἱ λόγοι· μέλλει πολιορκεῖν, τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἐκδι-
 δωσι· μέλει γάρ τινι τούτων τῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν οἰκούντων Ἑλλή-
 νων· ἀμείνους μὲν τᾶν εἰεν τῶν ἄλλων ἢ τῆς πατρίδος
 κήδεσθαι. Καὶ τό γε εἰς τὸν Ἑλλησποντον εἰσπέμπειν
 ἔτερον στρατηγὸν τοῦτ' ἐστίν. Εἰ γὰρ δεῖνὰ ποιεῖ Διοκείθης
 καὶ κατὰγει τὰ πλοῖα, μικρόν, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μικρόν
 πινάκιον ταῦτα πάντα κωλύσαι δύναται· ἂν, καὶ λέγουσιν οἱ
 νόμοι, ταῦτα τοὺς ἀδικούντας εἰσαγγέλλειν, οὐ μὰ Δία δαπά-
 ναις καὶ τρήρεσι τσαυταῖς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς φυλάττειν, ἐπεὶ τοῦτ' C
 γ' ἐστὶν ὑπερβολὴ μανίας· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς ἐχθρούς, οὓς οὐκ
 ἐστί λαβεῖν ὑπὸ τοῖς νόμοις, καὶ στρατιώτας τρέφειν καὶ τρη-
 ρεῖς ἐκπέμπειν καὶ χρήματα εἰσφέρειν δεῖ καὶ ἀναγκαῖόν ἐσθαι,
 ἐπὶ δ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ψήφισμα, εἰσαγγελία, Πάραλος, ταῦτ'
 ἐστίν. Ταῦτ' ἦν ἐξ φρονούντων ἀνθρώπων, ἐπηρεαζόντων δὲ
 καὶ διαφθειρόντων τὰ πράγματα, ἃ νῦν οὗτοι ποιοῦσιν. Καὶ
 τὸ μὲν τούτων τινὰς εἶναι τοιούτους δεινὸν ὃν οὐ δεινὸν ἐστίν·
 ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς οἱ καθήμενοι οὕτως ἤδη διάκεισθε ὥστε, ἂν μὲν τις
 εἴπῃ παρελθὼν ὅτι Διοκείθης ἐστὶ τῶν κακῶν πάντων αἴτιος
 ἢ Χάρης ἢ Ἀριστοφῶν ἢ ὃν ἂν τῶν πολιτῶν εἴπῃ τις, εὐθέως D
 φατέ καὶ θορυβεῖτε ὥς ὀρθῶς λέγει· ἂν δὲ παρελθὼν λέγῃ
 τις τάλῃθι, ὅτι “Ληρεῖτε, ἃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· πάντων τῶν
 κακῶν καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων τούτων Φίλιππός ἐστιν αἴτιος· εἰ
 γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἦγεν ἡσυχίαν, οὐδὲν ἂν ἦν πρᾶγμα τῇ πόλει,”
 ὥς μὲν οὐκ ἄληθι ταῦτ' ἐστὶν οὐκ ἔξετε ἀντιλέγειν, ἀχθεσθαι
 δέ μοι δοκεῖτε καὶ ὥσπερ ἀπολλύναι τι νομίζειν. Αἴτιον δὲ
 τούτων (καὶ μοι πρὸς θεῶν, ὅταν ἔνεκα τοῦ βελτίστου λέγω,
 ἔστω παρῳήσια)· παρεσκευάκασιν ὑμᾶς τῶν πολιτενομένων
 ἔνιοι ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις φοβερούς καὶ χαλεπούς, ἐν δὲ
 ταῖς παρασκευαῖς ταῖς τοῦ πολέμου ῥαθύμους καὶ εὐκαταφρο-

- Α Δι' οὐχ ἦν Διοπίθης πειρᾶται τῇ πόλει δύναμιν παρασκευάζειν, ταύτην βασκαίνειν καὶ διαλύσαι πειρᾶσθαι, ἀλλ' ἑτέραν αὐτοὺς προσπαρσκευάζειν καὶ συνευπορούοντας ἐκείνων χρημάτων καὶ τᾶλλα οἰκείως συναγωνιζομένους. Εἰ γὰρ τις ἔροιτο Φίλιππον, εἰπέ μοι, πότερ' ἂν βούλοιο τούτους τοὺς στρατιώτας οὕς Διοπίθης νῦν ἔχει, τοὺς ὁποιουσινασοῦν (οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀντιλέγω), εὐθeneῖν καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίους εὐδοξεῖν καὶ πλείους γίγνεσθαι τῆς πόλεως συναγωνιζομένης, ἢ διαβαλλόντων τινῶν καὶ κατηγορούντων διασπασθῆναι καὶ διαφθαρῆναι; ταῦτ' ἂν οἶμαι φήσειεν. Εἴθ' ἂν Φίλιππος ἂν εὐξαιτο τοῖς θεοῖς, ταῦθ' ὑμῶν τινὲς ἐνθάδε πράττουσιν; εἴτα ἐτι ζητεῖτε πόθεν τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀπόλωλεν ἅπαντα;
- 5 Β Βούλομαι τοίνυν ὑμᾶς μετὰ παρῆρσίας ἐξετάσαι τὰ παρόντα πράγματα τῇ πόλει, καὶ σκέψασθαι τί ποιοῦμεν αὐτοὶ νῦν καὶ ὅπως χρώμεθ' αὐτοῖς. Ἡμεῖς οὔτε χρήματα εἰσφέρειν βουλόμεθα, οὔτε αὐτοὶ στρατεύεσθαι, οὔτε τῶν κοινῶν ἀπέχεσθαι δυνάμεθα, οὔτε τὰς συντάξεις Διοπίθῃ διδομεν, οὔθ' ὅς' ἂν αὐτὸς αὐτῷ πορίσῃται ἐπαινοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ βασκαίνομεν καὶ σκοποῦμεν πόθεν καὶ τί μέλλει ποιεῖν καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα, οὗτ' ἐπειδὴ περ οὕτως ἔχομεν, τὰ ἡμέτερ' αὐτῶν
- 6 Γ πράττειν ἐθέλομεν, ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν τοῖς λόγοις τοὺς τῆς πόλεως λέγοντας ἄξια ἐπαινοῦμεν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις τοῖς ἐναντιούμενοις τούτοις συναγωνιζόμεθα. Ὑμεῖς μὲν τοι εἰώθατε ἐκάστοτε τὸν παριόντα ἐρωτᾶν τί οὖν χρή ποιεῖν; ἐγὼ δ' ὑμᾶς ἐρωτῶμαι βούλομαι τί οὖν χρή λέγειν; εἰ γὰρ μήτε εἰσίοσσετε, μήτε αὐτοὶ στρατεύσεσθε, μήτε τῶν κοινῶν ἀφέξεσθε, μήτε τὰς συντάξεις δώσετε, μήτε ὅς' ἂν αὐτὸς αὐτῷ πορίσῃται εἴσατε, μήτε τὰ ἡμέτερ' αὐτῶν πράττειν ἐθέλησετε, οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω. Εἰ γὰρ ἤδη τοσαύτην ἐξουσίαν τοῖς αἰτιάσθαι καὶ διαβάλλειν βουλομένοις δίδοτε, ὥστε καὶ περὶ ὧν φασὶ μέλλειν
- 7 Δ αὐτὸν ποιεῖν, καὶ περὶ τούτων προκατηγορούντων ἀκροᾶσθε, τί ἂν τις λέγοι;
- 8 Ε "Ὅ τι τοίνυν δύναται ταῦτα ποιεῖν, ἐνίους μαθεῖν ὑμῶν δεῖ. Λέξω δὲ μετὰ παρῆρσίας· καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ἂν ἄλλως δυναίμην. Πάντες ὅσοι ποτ' ἐκπεπλεύκασι παρ' ὑμῶν στρατηγοί, ἢ ἐγὼ πάσχειν ὅτιοῦν τιμῶμαι, καὶ παρὰ Χίων καὶ παρὰ Ἐρυθραίων καὶ παρ' ὧν ἂν ἕκαστοι δύνωνται, τούτων τῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν οἰκούντων λέγω, χρήματα λαμβάνουσιν. Λαμβάνουσι δὲ οἱ μὲν ἔχοντες μίαν ἢ δύο ναῦς ἐλάττονα, οἱ δὲ μείζω δύναμιν πλείονα. Καὶ διδόασιν οἱ διδόντες οὔτε τὰ μικρὰ οὔτε τὰ πολλὰ ἀντ' οὐδενός (οὐ γὰρ οὕτω μαίνονται),

ἀλλ' ὠνούμενοι μὴ ἡδικοῦσθαι τοὺς παρ' αὐτῶν ἐκπλέοντας Ἀ
 ἐμπόρους, μὴ συλᾶσθαι, παραπέμπεσθαι τὰ πλοῖα τὰ αὐτῶν,
 τὰ τοιαῦτα· φασὶ δ' εὐνοίας διδόναι, καὶ τοῦτο τούνομα ἔχει
 τὰ λήμματα ταῦτα. Καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν τῷ Διοπείθει στρατεύμ'
 ἔχοντι σαφῶς ἐστὶ τοῦτο δῆλον ὅτι δώσουσι χρήματα πάντες
 οὗτοι· πόθεν γὰρ οἴεσθε ἄλλοθεν τὸν μῆτε λαβόντα παρ'
 ὑμῶν μηδὲν μῆτε αὐτὸν ἔχοντα ὁπόθεν μισθοδοτήσῃ στρατι-
 ώτας τρέφειν; ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ; οὐκ ἐστὶ ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ὧν
 ἀγείρει καὶ προσαιεῖ καὶ δανείζεται, ἀπὸ τούτων διάγει.
 (Ὅδὲν οὖν ἄλλο ποιοῦσιν οἱ κατηγοροῦντες ἐν ὑμῖν, ἢ προ-
 λέγουσιν ἅπασιν μὴδ' ὅτι οὖν ἐκείνῳ διδόναι, ὥς καὶ τοῦ μελλή- B
 σαι δώσουσι δίκην, μὴ τι ποιήσαντί γε ἢ καταπραΰναμένῳ.
 Τοῦτ' εἰσὶν οἱ λόγοι· μέλλει πολιορκεῖν, τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐκδί-
 δωσι· μέλει γάρ τινι τούτων τῶν τῇ Ἀσίαν οἰκούντων Ἑλλή-
 νων· ἀμείνους μὲν τᾶν εἰν τῶν ἄλλων ἢ τῆς πατρίδος
 κήδεσθαι. Καὶ τό γε εἰς τὸν Ἑλλησποντον εἰσέμπευιν
 ἔτερον στρατηγὸν τοῦτ' ἐστίν. Εἰ γὰρ δεινὰ ποιεῖ Διοπείθης
 καὶ κατάγει τὰ πλοῖα, μικρόν, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μικρόν
 πινάκιον ταῦτα πάντα κωλύσαι δύναται· ἂν, καὶ λέγουσιν οἱ
 νόμοι, ταῦτα τοὺς ἀδικούντας εἰσαγγέλλειν, οὐ μὰ Δία δαπά-
 ναις καὶ τριήρεσι τοσαύταις ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς φυλάττειν, ἐπεὶ τοῦτο C
 γ' ἐστὶν ὑπερβολὴ μανίας· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς ἐχθρούς, οὓς οὐκ
 ἐστὶ λαβεῖν ὑπὸ τοῖς νόμοις, καὶ στρατιώτας τρέφειν καὶ τριή-
 ρεις ἐκπέμπειν καὶ χρήματα εἰσφέρειν δεῖ καὶ ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν,
 ἐπὶ δ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ψήφισμα, εἰσαγγελία, Πάραλος, ταῦτ'
 ἐστίν. Ταῦτ' ἦν ἐξ φρονούντων ἀνθρώπων, ἐπηρεαζόντων δὲ
 καὶ διαφθειρόντων τὰ πράγματα, ἃ νῦν οὗτοι ποιοῦσιν. Καὶ
 τὸ μὲν τούτων τινὰς εἶναι τοιούτους δεινόν ὃν οὐ δεινόν ἐστίν·
 ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς οἱ καθήμενοι οὕτως ἤδη διάκεισθε ὥστε, ἂν μὲν τις
 εἴπῃ παρελθὼν ὅτι Διοπείθης ἐστὶ τῶν κακῶν πάντων αἴτιος
 ἢ Χάρης ἢ Ἀριστοφῶν ἢ ὃν ἂν τῶν πολιτῶν εἴπῃ τις, εὐθέως D
 φατέ καὶ θορυβεῖτε ὥς ὀρθῶς λέγει· ἂν δὲ παρελθὼν λέγῃ
 τις τάλῃθι, ὅτι “ληρεῖτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· πάντων τῶν
 κακῶν καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων τούτων Φίλιππος ἐστὶν αἴτιος· εἰ
 γὰρ ἐκείνος ἦγεν ἡσυχίαν, οὐδὲν ἂν ἦν πρᾶγμα τῇ πόλει,”
 ὥς μὲν οὐκ ἀληθὴ ταῦτ' ἐστὶν οὐκ ἔχετε ἀντιλέγειν, ἀχθεσθαι
 δέ μοι δοκεῖτε καὶ ὥσπερ ἀπολλύναι τι νομίζειν. Λίγιον δὲ
 τούτων (καὶ μοι πρὸς θεῶν, ὅταν ἔνεκα τοῦ βελτίστου λέγω,
 ἔστω παρῆρσις)· παρεσκευάσασιν ὑμᾶς τῶν πολιτευσμένων
 ἔνιοι ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις φοβερούς καὶ χαλεπούς, ἐν δὲ
 ταῖς παρασκευαῖς ταῖς τοῦ πολέμου βραθύμους καὶ εὐκαταφρο-

- Α συνεισηκὸς τοῦτο συμμενεῖ στρατεύμα ὁρᾶν καὶ πράττειν, ἵν ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος ἔτοιμον ἔχει δύναμιν τὴν ἀδικήσουσαν καὶ καταδουλωσομένην ἅπαντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας, οὕτω τὴν σώσουσαν ὑμεῖς καὶ βοηθήσουσαν ἅπασιν ἔτοιμον ἔχητε. Οὐ γὰρ ἔστι βοηθείαις χρωμένους οὐδέποτε· οὐδὲν τῶν δεόντων πράξει, ἀλλὰ κατασκευάσαντας δεῖ δύναμιν, καὶ τροφὴν ταύτῃ πορίσαντας καὶ ταμίαις καὶ δημοσίους, καὶ ὅπως ἐνὶ τῇ τῶν χρημάτων φυλακῇ ἀκριβεστάτην γενέσθαι, οὕτω ποιήσαντας, τὸν μὲν τῶν χρημάτων λόγον παρὰ τούτων λαμβάνειν, τὸν δὲ τῶν ἔργων παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ. Καὶ οὕτω ποιήσητε καὶ
- Β τότε ἐβελήσητε ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἀγειν εἰρήνην δικαίαν, μένειν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ Φίλιππον ἀναγκάσετε, οὐ μείζον οὐδὲν ἂν γένοιτ' ἀγαθόν, ἢ πολεμήσειε ἐξ ἴσου.
- 8 Εἰ δὲ τῷ δοκεῖ ταῦτα καὶ δαπάνης μεγάλης καὶ πόνων πολλῶν καὶ πραγματείας εἶναι, καὶ μάλα ὀρθῶς δοκεῖ· ἀλλ' ἐὰν λογιζέται τὰ τῇ πόλει μετὰ ταῦτα γενησόμενα, ἂν ταῦτα μὴ θέλῃ, εὐρήσει λυσiteloῦν τὸ ἐκόντας ποιεῖν τὰ δεόντα. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ τις ἐγγυητὴς θεῶν (οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρώπων γ' οὐδεὶς ἂν γένοιτο ἀξιοχρεῶς τηλικούτου πράγματος) ὥς, ἂν ἀγηθ' ἡσυχίαν καὶ ἅπαντα πρόησθε, οὐκ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς τελευτῶν
- Γ ἐκεῖνος ἦξει, αἰσχροὺς μὲν νῆ τὸν Δία καὶ πάντας τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ ἀνάξιον ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῇ πόλει καὶ πεπραγμένων τοῖς προγόνοις, τῆς ἰδίας ἔνεκα βλάβης τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας Ἕλληνας εἰς δουλείαν προέσθαι, καὶ ἔγωγε αὐτὸς μὲν τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἂν ἢ ταῦτ' εἰρηκέναι βουλοίμην· οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἴ τις ἄλλος λέγει καὶ ὑμᾶς πείθει, ἔστω, μὴ ἀμύνεσθε, ἅπαντα πρόεσθε. Εἰ δὲ μηδενὶ τοῦτο μηδὲ δοκεῖ, τούναντίον δὲ πρῶτισμέν ἅπαντες, ὅτι ὅσῳ ἂν πλειόνων ἐάσωμεν ἐκεῖνον γενέσθαι κύριον, τοσοῦτῳ χαλεπωτέρῳ καὶ ἰσχυροτέρῳ χρῆσόμεθα ἐχθρῷ, ποῖ ἀναδυνόμεθα ἢ τί μέλλομεν; ἢ πότε, ὦ
- Δ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰ δεόντα ποιεῖν ἐβελήσομεν; ὅταν νῆ Δι' ἀναγκαῖον ᾖ. Ἄλλ' ἦν μὲν ἂν τις ἐλευθέρων ἀνθρώπων ἀνάγκην εἴποι, οὐ μόνον ἥδη πάρεστιν ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλαι παρελήλυθε· τὴν δὲ τῶν δούλων ἀπεύχεσθαι δῆπου μὴ γενέσθαι δεῖ. Διαφέρει δὲ τί; ὅτι ἐστὶν ἐλευθέρῳ μὲν ἀνθρώπῳ μεγίστη ἀνάγκη ἢ ὑπὲρ τῶν γιγνομένων αἰσχύνῃ, καὶ μείζω ταύτης οὐκ οἶδ' ἦντιν' ἂν εἴποιμεν· δούλῳ δὲ πληγαὶ καὶ οὗ τοῦ σώματος αἰκίμος, ἃ μῆτε γένοιτ' ὅτε λέγειν ἄξιον.
- 9 Πάντα τοίνυν τὰλλ', εἰπὼν ἂν ἡδέως, καὶ δείξας ὃν τρόπον ὑμᾶς ἔνιοι καταπολιτεύονται, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐάσω· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴν τι τῶν πρὸς Φίλιππον ἐμπέσῃ, εὐθύς ἀναστὰς τις λέγει τὸ

τὴν εἰρήνην ἄγειν ὡς ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ τρέφειν δύναμιν μεγά- A
 λην ὡς χαλεπὸν, καὶ “διαρπάζειν τινες τὰ χρήματα βούλον-
 ται” καὶ τοιοῦτους λόγους, ἐξ ὧν ἀναβάλλουσι μὲν ὑμᾶς,
 ἡσυχίαν δὲ ποιῶσιν ἐκείνῳ πράττειν ὃ τι βούλεται. Ἐκ δὲ
 τούτων περιγίγνεται ὑμῖν μὲν ἡ σχολή καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ἤδη
 ποιεῖν, ἃ δέδοικ’ ὅπως μὴ ποθ’ ἡγήσεσθε ἐπὶ πολλῷ γεγε-
 νῆσθαι, τούτοις δὲ αἱ χάριτες καὶ ὁ μισθὸς ὁ τούτων. Ἐγὼ
 δ’ οἶμαι τὴν μὲν εἰρήνην ἄγειν οὐχ ὑμᾶς δεῖν πείθειν, οἱ
 πεπεισμένοι κἄθησθε, ἀλλὰ τὸν τὰ τοῦ πολέμου πράττοντα·
 ἂν γὰρ ἐκείνος πεισθῇ, τὰ γ’ ἀφ’ ὑμῶν ἔτοιμα ὑπάρχειν·
 νομίζουσιν δ’ εἶναι χαλεπὰ οὐχ ὅσ’ ἂν εἰς σωτηρίαν δαπανῶμεν, B
 ἀλλ’ ἃ πεισόμεθα, ἂν ταῦτα μὴ ἐθέλωμεν ποιεῖν· καὶ τὸ διαρ-
 πασθήσεσθαι τὰ χρήματα τῷ φυλακῇ εἰπεῖν, δι’ ἧς σωθή-
 σεται, κωλύειν, οὐχὶ τῷ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἀφαστάναι. Καίτοι
 ἔγωγ’ ἀγανακτῶ καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ὧς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ τὰ
 μὲν χρήματα λυπεῖ τινὰς ὑμῶν, εἰ διαρπασθήσεται, ἃ καὶ
 φυλάττειν καὶ κολάζειν τοὺς ἀδικούντας ἐφ’ ὑμῖν ἐστὶ, τὴν δὲ
 Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν οὕτωςι Φίλιππος ἐφέλῃς ἀρπάζων οὐ λυπεῖ,
 καὶ ταῦτ’ ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς ἀρπάζων.

Τί ποτ’ οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ αἰτίων ὧς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ τὸν μὲν 10
 οὕτω φανερώς στρατεύοντα, ἀδικούντα, πόλεις καταλαμβάνο- C
 νοντα, μηδένα τούτων πώποτε εἰπεῖν ὡς πόλεμον ποιεῖ, τοὺς
 δὲ μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν μηδὲ προΐεσθαι ταῦτα συμβουλευόντας,
 τούτους τὸν πόλεμον ποιήσειν αἰτιασθαι; ἐγὼ διδάξω· ὅτι
 τὴν ὀργὴν ἣν εἰκός ἐστι γενέσθαι παρ’ ὑμῖν, ἂν τι λυπησθε
 τῷ πολέμῳ, εἰς τοὺς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν λέγοντας τὰ βέλτιστα τρέψαι
 βούλονται, ἵνα τούτους κρίνητε, μὴ Φίλιππον ἀμύνησθε, καὶ
 κατηγορῶσιν αὐτοί, μὴ δίκην δῶσιν ὧν ποιοῦσι νῦν. Τοῦτ’
 αὐτοῖς δύναται τὸ λέγειν ὡς ἄρα βούλονται πόλεμόν τινες
 ποιῆσαι παρ’ ὑμῖν, καὶ περὶ τούτου ἡ διαδουκασία αὕτη ἐστίν.
 Ἐγὼ δ’ οἶδα ἀκριβῶς ὅτι οὐ γράψαντος Ἀθηναίων οὐδενός D
 πω πόλεμον καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ Φίλιππος ἔχει τῶν τῆς πόλεως
 καὶ νῦν εἰς Καρδίαν πέπομφε βοηθείαν. Εἰ μέντοι βουλόμεθ’
 ἡμεῖς μὴ προσποιεῖσθαι πολεμεῖν αὐτὸν ἡμῖν, ἀνοητότατος
 πάντων ἂν εἴη τῶν ὄντων ἀνθρώπων, εἰ τοῦτ’ ἐξελέγχοι.
 Ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς ἴη, τί φήσομεν; ἐκείνος μὲν
 γὰρ οὐ πολεμεῖν, ὥσπερ οὐδ’ Ὀρεΐταις τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὄντων
 ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, οὐδὲ Φεραίοις πρότερον, πρὸς τὰ τεῖχη προσ-
 βάλλων αὐτῶν, οὐδ’ Ὀλυνθίοις ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἕως ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ
 χώρᾳ τὸ στράτευμα παρῇν ἔχων. Ἡ καὶ τότε τοὺς ἀμύνεσθαι
 κελεύοντας πόλεμον ποιεῖν φήσομεν; οὐκοῦν ὑπόλοιπον δυν-

Α λένειν· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο γ' οὐδὲν ἐστὶ μεταξὺ τοῦ μήτ' ἀμύνεσθαι μήτ' ἀγειν ἡσυχίαν ἰᾶσθαι. Καὶ μὴν οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἴσων ὑμῖν τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐσθ' ὁ κίνδυνος· οὐ γὰρ ὑφ' αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν ποιήσασθαι βούλεται Φίλιππος, ἀλλ' ὕλως ἀνελεῖν. Οἶδε γὰρ ἀκριβῶς ὅτι δουλεύειν μὲν ὑμεῖς οὐτ' ἐθελήσετε οὐτ', ἂν ἐθελήσετε, ἐπιστήσεσθε (ἄρχειν γὰρ εἰώθατε), πράγματα δ' αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν, ἂν καιρὸν λάβητε, πλείω τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων δυνήσεσθε.

- 11 Ὡς οὖν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐσχάτων ὄντος τοῦ ἀγῶνος προσήκει, οὕτω γιγνώσκειν, καὶ τοὺς πεπρακότας αὐτοὺς ἐκείνῳ μισεῖν
 Β καὶ ἀποτυμπανίσαι· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστι τῶν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐχθρῶν κρατῆσαι, πρὶν ἂν τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει κολάσῃ· ἐχθρούς. Πόθεν οἴεσθε νῦν αὐτὸν ὑβρίζειν ὑμᾶς (οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ ποιεῖν ἢ τοῦτο) καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους εὖ ποιῶντα, εἰ μὴδὲν ἄλλο, ἐξαπατᾶν, ὑμῖν δ' ἀπειλεῖν ἤδη; οἷον Θετταλοὺς πολλὰ δούς ἐπηγάγετο εἰς τὴν νῦν παροῦσαν δουλείαν· οὐδ' ἂν εἰπεῖν δύναται· οὐδεὶς ὅσα τοὺς γαλαικώρους Ὀλυνθίους πρότερον δούς Ποτιδαίαν ἐξηπάτησε καὶ πόλλ' ἕτερα· Θηβαίους τὰ νῦν ὑπάγει τὴν Βοιωτίαν αὐτοῖς παραδούς καὶ ἀπαλλάξας πολέμου πολλοῦ καὶ χαλεποῦ·
 Γ ὥστε καρπώσαμενοὶ τίνα ἕκαστοι τούτων πλεονεξίαν οἱ μὲν ἤδη πεπόνθασιν ἃ δὴ πάντες ἴσασιν, οἱ δ' ὅταν ποτὲ συμβῇ πείσονται. Ὑμεῖς δὲ ὧν μὲν ἀπεστέρησθε, σιωπῶ· ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τὴν εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι πόσα ἐξηπάτησθε! πόσων ἀπεστέρησθε! οὐχὶ Φωκίας, οὐ Πύλας, οὐχὶ τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης, Δορίσκον, Σέρριον, τὸν Κερσουβλέπτην αὐτόν; οὐ νῦν τὴν πόλιν τὴν Καρδιανῶν ἔχει καὶ ὁμολογεῖ; τί ποτ' οὖν ἐκείνως τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὑμῖν προσφέρεται; ὅτι ἐν μόνῃ τῶν πασῶν πόλεων τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἄδεια ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν λέγειν δέδοται, καὶ λαβόντα χρήματ' αὐτὸν ἀσφαλές
 Δ ἐστὶ λέγειν παρ' ὑμῖν, κἂν ἀφρημένοι τὰ ὑμέτερα αὐτῶν ᾗτε. Οὐκ ἦν ἀσφαλές λέγειν ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ τὰ Φιλίππου μὴ συνενπεπονθότων τῶν πολλῶν Ὀλυνθίων τῷ Ποτιδαίαν καρποῦσθαι· οὐκ ἦν ἀσφαλές λέγειν ἐν Θετταλίᾳ τὰ Φιλίππου μὴδὲν εὖ πεπονθότος τοῦ πλήθους τῶν Θετταλῶν τῷ τοὺς τυράντους ἐκβαλεῖν Φίλιππον αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν Πυλαίαν ἀποδοῦναι· οὐκ ἦν ἐν Θήβαις ἀσφαλές, πρὶν τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἀπέδωκε καὶ τοὺς Φωκίας ἀνείλεν. Ἀλλ' Ἀθήνησιν οὐ μόνον Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ τὴν Καρδιανῶν χώραν ἀπεστερηκότος Φιλίππου, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατασκευάζοντος ὑμῖν ἐπιτείχισμα τὴν Εὐβοίαν καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ Βυζάντιον παριόντος, ἀσφαλές ἐστὶ λέγειν ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου.

Τοιγάρτοι τούτων μὲν ἐκ πτωχῶν ἐνιοι ταχὺ πλούσιοι γίγνον- Δ
ται καὶ ἐξ ἀνωνύμων καὶ ἀδόξων ἐνδοξοί, καὶ γνώριμοι, ὅμεις
δὲ τούναντίον ἐκ μὲν ἐνδόξων ἀδοξοί, ἐκ δ' εὐπόρων ἀποροί·
πόλεως γὰρ ἔγωγε πλοῦτον ἡγοῦμαι συμμάχους πίστιν εὐ-
νοίαν, ὣν ἀπάντων ἐσθ' ὅμεις ἀποροί. Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τούτων
ὀλιγώρως ἔχειν καὶ ἱεῖν ταῦτα στέρεσθαι ὁ μὲν εὐδαίμων καὶ
μέγας καὶ φοβερὸς πᾶσιν Ἕλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις, ὅμεις δ'
ἔρημοι καὶ ταπεινοί, τῇ τῶν ὀνίων ἀφθονίᾳ λαμπροί, τῇ δ'
ὣν προσῆκε παρασκευῇ καταγέλαστοι. Οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρό-
πον περὶ θ' ὅμιν καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐνίων λεγόντων ὁρῶ
βουλευομένους· ὅμᾳς μὲν γὰρ ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν φασι δεῖν, κἄν B
τις ὅμᾳς ἀδικῇ, αὐτοὶ δ' οὐ δύνανται παρ' ὅμιν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν
οὐδενὸς αὐτοὺς ἀδικούντος.

Εἰτά φησιν ὃς ἂν τύχη παρελθὼν “οὐ γὰρ ἐθέλεις γρά- 12
φειν οὐδὲ κινδυνεύειν, ἀλλ' ἀτολμος εἶ καὶ μαλακός.” Ἐγὼ
δὲ θρασὺς μὲν καὶ βδελυρὸς καὶ ἀναιδὴς οὗτ' εἰμὶ μήτε γειν-
όμεν, ἀνδρειότερον μέντοι πολλῶ πάντων ἱταμῶς πολιτενο-
μένων παρ' ὅμιν ἑμαυτὸν ἡγοῦμαι. “Ὅστις μὲν γάρ, ὃ ἄν-
δρες Ἀθηναῖοι, παριδὼν ἃ συνοίσει τῇ πόλει, κρίνει δημεύει
δίδωσι κατηγορεῖ, οὐδεμῶ ταῦτ' ἀνδρεία ποιεῖ, ἀλλ' ἔχων
ἐνέχυρον τῆς αὐτοῦ σωτηρίας τὸ πρὸς χάριν ὅμιν λέγειν καὶ C
πολιτεύεσθαι ἀσφαλῶς θρασὺς ἐστίν· ὅστις δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ βελ-
τίστου πολλὰ τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἐναντιοῦνται βουλῇμασι, καὶ μηδὲν
λέγει πρὸς χάριν ἀλλὰ τὸ βέλτιστον αἰεί, καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην
πολιτείαν προαιρεῖται ἐν ᾗ πλειόνων ἢ τύχη κυρία γίγνεται ἢ
οἱ λογισμοί, τούτων δ' ἀμφοτέρων ἑαυτὸν ὑπεύθυνον ὅμιν
παρέχει, οὗτός ἐστ' ἀνδρείος, καὶ χρήσιμος πολιτῆς ὁ τοιοῦτός
ἐστίν, οὐχ οἱ τῆς παρ' ἡμέραν χάριτος τὰ μέγιστα τῆς πόλεως
ἀπολωλεκότες, οὗς ἐγὼ τοσοῦτον δέω ζηλοῦν ἢ νομίζειν ἀξίους
πολίτας τῆς πόλεως εἶναι, ὥστ' εἰ τις ἔροιτό με “εἰπέ μοι,
σὺ δὲ τί τὴν πόλιν ἡμῖν ἀγαθὸν πεποιήκας;” ἔχων ὃ ἄνδρες D
Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τριηραρχίας εἰπεῖν καὶ χορηγίας καὶ χρημάτων
εἰσφορὰς καὶ λύσεις αἰχμαλώτων καὶ τοιαύτας ἄλλας φιλαν-
θρωπίας, οὐδὲν ἂν τούτων εἴποιμι, ἀλλ' ὅτι τῶν τοιούτων
πολιτενμάτων οὐδὲν πολιτεύομαι, ἀλλὰ δυνάμενος ἂν ἴσως,
ὥσπερ καὶ ἕτεροι, καὶ κατηγορεῖν καὶ χαρίζεσθαι καὶ δημεύειν
καὶ τᾶλλ' ἃ ποιοῦσιν οὗτοι ποιεῖν, οὐδ' ἐφ' ἐν τούτων πώποτ'
ἑμαυτὸν ἔταξα οὐδὲ προήχθην οὐθ' ὑπὸ κέρδους οὐθ' ὑπὸ φιλο-
τιμίας, ἀλλὰ λέγων ἐξ ὧν ἐγὼ μὲν πολλῶν ἐλάττων εἰμὶ παρ'
ὅμιν, ὅμεις δέ, εἰ πείθεσθέ μοι, μείζους ἂν εἴητε· οὕτω γὰρ
ἂν ἴσως ἀνεκτίφθορον εἰπέιν. Οὐδ' ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ δικαίον τοῦτ'

Α εἶναι πολίτου, τοιαῦτα πολιτεύμαθ' εὐρίσκειν ἐξ ὧν ἐγὼ μὲν πρῶτος ὑμῶν ἔσομαι εὐθέως, ὑμεῖς δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ὑστατοί· ἀλλὰ συναυξάνεσθαι δεῖ τὴν πόλιν τοῖς τῶν ἀγαθῶν πολιτῶν πολιτεύμασι, καὶ τὸ βέλτιστον αἰεὶ, μὴ τὸ ῥᾶστον ἀπαντας λέγειν· ἐπ' ἐκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ ἡ φύσις αὕτῃ βαδιεῖται, ἐπὶ τοῦτο δὲ τῷ λόγῳ δεῖ προάγεσθαι διδάσκοντα τὸν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην.

13 Ἦδη τοίνυν τινὸς ἤκουσα τοιοῦτόν τι λέγοντος, ὡς ἄρα ἐγὼ λέγω μὲν αἰεὶ τὰ βέλτιστα, ἔστι δ' οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ λόγοι τὰ παρ' ἐμοῦ, δεῖ δ' ἔργων τῇ πόλει καὶ πράξεώς τινος. Ἐγὼ

Β δ' ὡς ἔχω περὶ τούτων, λέξω πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι. Οὐδ' εἶναι νομίζω τοῦ συμβουλευόντος ὑμῖν ἔργον οὐδὲν πλὴν εἰπεῖν τὰ βέλτιστα. Καὶ τοῦθ' ὅτι τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον, ῥαδίως οἶμαι δείξειν. Ἰστε γὰρ δήπου τοῦθ', ὅτι Τιμόθεός ποτ' ἐκεῖνος ἐν ὑμῖν ἐδημηγόρησεν ὡς δεῖ βοηθεῖν καὶ τοὺς Εὐβοέας σώζειν, ὅτε Θηβαῖοι κατεδουλοῦντο αὐτούς, καὶ λέγων εἶπεν οὕτω πως· "εἰπέ μοι, βουλευέσθε" ἔφη "Θηβαίους ἔχοντες ἐν νήσῳ, τί χρήσεσθε καὶ τί δεῖ ποιεῖν; οὐκ ἐμπλήσετε τὴν θάλατταν δ' ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τριήρων; οὐκ ἀναστάντες ἤδη πορεύσεσθε εἰς τὸν Παιραιᾶ; οὐ καθέλκετε

Γ τὰς ναῦς;" οὐκοῦν εἶπε μὲν ταῦτα ὁ Τιμόθεος, ἐποιήσατε δ' ὑμεῖς· ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἀμφοτέρων τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐπράχθη. Εἰ δ' ὁ μὲν εἶπεν ὡς οἷόν τε τὰ ἄριστα, ὥσπερ εἶπεν, ὑμεῖς δ' ἀπεβόρθυσθε καὶ μηδὲν ὑπηκούσατε, ἄρ' ἂν ἦν γεγονός τι τῶν τότε συμβάντων τῇ πόλει; οὐχ οἷόν τε. Οὕτω τοίνυν καὶ περὶ ὧν ἂν ἐγὼ λέγω, τὰ μὲν ἔργα παρ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ζητεῖτε, τὰ δὲ βέλτιστα ἐπιστήμη λέγειν παρὰ τοῦ παριόντος.

14 Ἐν κεφαλῇ δ' ἃ λέγω φράσας καταβῆναι βούλομαι. Χρήματα εἰσφέρειν φημι δεῖν, τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν δύναμιν συνέχειν, ἐπανορθοῦντας εἴ τι δοκεῖ μὴ καλῶς ἔχειν, μὴ ὅσοις ἂν

Δ τις αἰτιάσθαι τὸ ὅλον καταλόνοντας· πρέσβεις ἐκπέμπειν πανταχοῦ τοὺς διδάζοντας νοθεύειντας πράζοντας· παρὰ πάντα ταῦτα τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασι δωροδοκοῦντας κολάζειν καὶ μισεῖν πανταχοῦ, ἵν' οἱ μέτριοι καὶ δίκαιοι ἐαυτοὺς παρέχοντες εὖ βεβουλευσθαι δοκῶσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ ἐαυτοῖς. Ἄν οὕτω τοῖς πράγμασι χρήσθε καὶ παύσεσθε ὀλιγωροῦντες ἀπάντων, ἴσως ἂν, ἴσως καὶ νῦν ἔτι βελγίῳ γένοιτο. Εἰ μέντοι καθεδεῖσθε ἄχρι τοῦ θορυβῆσαι καὶ ἐκαινέσαι σπουδαζοντες, εἰάν τις τι ποιεῖν ἀναδύμενοι, οὐχ ὥρῳ λόγον ὅστις ἀνευ τοῦ ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς ἃ προσήκει δυνήσεται τὴν πόλιν σῶσαι.

ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Γ.

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Ἀπλῇ τοῦ λόγου τούτου ἡ ὑπόθεσις· Φιλίππου γὰρ λόγῳ μὲν εἰρήνην ἄγοντος, ἔργῳ δὲ πολλὰ ἀδικούντος, συμβουλευεῖ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὁ ρήτωρ ἀναστῆναι καὶ ἀμύνασθαι τὸν βασιλεῖα, ὡς κινδύνου μεγάλου καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπικρεμαζόμενον καὶ πᾶσι κοινῇ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν.

Πολλῶν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι λόγων γενομένων ὀλίγου 1 δεῖν καθ' ἐκάστην ἐκκλησίαν περὶ ὧν Φίλιππος, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν Α εἰρήνην ἐποιήσατο, οὐ μόνον ὑμᾶς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀδικεῖ, καὶ πάντων οἶδ' ὅτι φησάντων γ' ἄν, εἰ καὶ μὴ ποιούσι τοῦτο, καὶ λέγειν δεῖν καὶ πράττειν ὅπως ἐκείνος παύσεται τῆς ὕβρεως καὶ δίκην δώσει, εἰς τοῦθ' ὑπηγμένα πάντα τὰ πράγματα καὶ προειμένα ὁρῶ, ὥστε δέδοικα μὴ βλάσφημον μὲν εἰπεῖν ἀληθές ὃ ἦ· εἰ καὶ λέγειν ἅπαντες ἐβούλοντο οἱ παριόντες καὶ χειροτονεῖν ὑμεῖς ἐξ ὧν ὡς φαυλότατ' ἔμαλλε τὰ πράγμαθ' ἔξειν, οὐκ ἂν ἡγοῦμαι δύνασθαι χεῖρον ἢ νῦν διατεθῆναι. Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἴσως ἐστὶν αἰτία τούτων, καὶ οὐ β παρ' ἐν οὐδὲ δύο εἰς τοῦτο τὰ πράγματα ἀφίεται, μάλιστα δ', ἂν περ ἐξετάζητε ὀρθῶς, εὐρήσετε διὰ τοὺς χαρίζεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ βέλτιστα λέγειν προαιρουμένους, ὧν τινὲς μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐν οἷς εὐδοκιμοῦσιν αὐτοὶ καὶ δύνανται, ταῦτα φυλάττοντες σὺνδεμίαν περὶ τῶν μελλόντων πρόνοιαν ἔχουσιν, ἕτεροι δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ὄντας αἰγιώμενοι καὶ διαβάλλοντες οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιοῦσιν ἢ ὅπως ἡ πόλις παρ' αὐτῆς δίκην λήψεται καὶ περὶ τούτ' ἔσται, Φιλίππῳ δ' ἐξέσται καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν ὃ τι βούλεται. Αἱ δὲ τοιαῦτα πολιτεῖαι συνήθεις μὲν εἰσιν ὑμῖν, αἰτίαι δὲ τῶν κακῶν. Ἀξιώ δ' ὧ C ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰάν τι τῶν ἀληθῶν μετὰ παρῆσias λέγω, μηδεμίαν μοι διὰ τοῦτο παρ' ὑμῶν ὀργὴν γενέσθαι. Σκοπεῖτε γὰρ ὧδέ. Ὑμεῖς τὴν παρῆσian ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων οὕτω κοινῇ οἴεσθε δεῖν εἶναι πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς ἔξοις καὶ τοῖς δούλοις αὐτῆς μεταδεδώκατε, καὶ πολλοὺς ἂν τις οἰκέτας ἴδοι παρ' ἡμῖν μετὰ κλειόνος ἐξουσίας ὃ τι βούλονται λέγοντας ἢ πολίτας ἐν ἐνίαις τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ συμβουλευεῖν παντάπασιν ἐξεληλάκατε. Εἴθ' ὑμῖν συμβέβηκεν ἐκ τούτου ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τρυφῆν καὶ κολα-

- Α κενέσθαι πάντα πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀκούουσιν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τοῖς γιγνομένοις περὶ τῶν ἐσχατῶν ἤδη κινδυνεύειν. Εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ νῦν οὕτω διάκεισθε, οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω· εἰ δ' ἂν συμφέροι χωρὶς κολακείας ἐβελήσετε ἀκούειν, ἔτοιμος λέγειν. Καὶ γὰρ εἰ πάνν φαύλως τὰ πράγματα ἔχει καὶ πολλὰ προεῖται, ὅμως ἔστιν, ἂν ὑμεῖς τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν βούλησθ' ἔτι πάντα ταῦτα ἐπανορθώσασθαι. Καὶ παράδοξον μὲν ἴσως ἔστιν ὃ μέλλω λέγειν, ἀληθές δέ· τὸ χερίστον ἐν τοῖς παρεληλύθοσι, τοῦτο πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα βέλτιστον ὑπάρχει. Τί οὖν ἐστι τοῦτο; ὅτι οὔτε μικρὸν οὔτε μέγα οὐδὲν τῶν δεόντων Β ποιούντων ὑμῶν κακῶς τὰ πράγματα ἔχει, ἐπεὶ τοι, εἰ πάνθ' ἂν προσήκει πραττόντων οὕτω διέκειτο, οὐδ' ἂν ἑλπίς ἦν αὐτὰ γενέσθαι βελτίω. Νῦν δὲ τῆς μὲν ῥαθυμίας τῆς ὑμετέρας καὶ τῆς ἀμελείας κεκράτηκε Φίλιππος, τῆς πόλεως δ' οὐ κεκράτηκεν· οὐδ' ἥττησθε ὑμεῖς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ κέκίνησθε.
- 2 Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔξεστιν εἰρήνην ἀγειν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐστι τοῦτο, ἴν' ἐντεῦθεν ἀρῶμαι, φημί ἔγωγε ἀγειν ἡμᾶς δεῖν, καὶ τὸν ταῦτα λέγοντα γράφειν καὶ πράττειν καὶ μὴ φενακίζειν ἀξιώ· εἰ δ' ἕτερος τὰ ὅπλα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχων καὶ δύναμιν πολλὴν περὶ αὐτὸν τοῦνομα μὲν τὸ τῆς εἰρήνης C ὑμῖν προβάλλει, τοῖς δ' ἔργοις αὐτὸς τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου χρηταί, τί λοιπὸν ἄλλο πλὴν ἀμύνεσθαι; φάσκειν δὲ εἰρήνην ἀγειν, εἰ βούλεσθε, ὥσπερ ἐκείνος, οὐ διαφέρομαι. Εἰ δέ τις ταύτην εἰρήνην ὑπολαμβάνει, ἐξ ἧς ἐκείνος πάντα τᾶλλα λαβὼν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἤξει, πρῶτον μὲν μαίνεται, ἔπειτα ἐκείνῳ πυρ' ὑμῶν, οὐχ ὑμῖν παρ' ἐκείνου τὴν εἰρήνην λέγει· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ὃ τῶν ἀναλίσκομένων χρημάτων πάντων Φίλιππος ὠνεῖται, αὐτὸς μὲν πολεμεῖν ὑμῖν, ὑφ' ὑμῶν δὲ μὴ πολεμεῖσθαι.
- 3 Καὶ μὴν εἰ μέχρι τούτου περιμενοῦμεν, ἔως ἂν ἡμῖν ὁμολογήσῃ πολεμεῖν, πάντων ἐσμέν εὐθηέστατοι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν D ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν αὐτὴν βαδίζῃ καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ τοῦτ' ἐρεῖ, εἰ περ οἷς πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους πεποίκε δεῖ τεκμαίρεσθαι. Τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ὀλυνθίοις τετταράκοντ' ἀπέχων τῆς πόλεως στάδια εἶπεν ὅτι δεῖ δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ ἐκείνους ἐν Ὀλυνθῷ μὴ οἰκεῖν ἢ αὐτὸν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ, πάντα τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον, εἰ τις αὐτὸν αἰτιάσαιτό τι τοιοῦτον, ἀγανακτῶν καὶ πρέσβεις πέμπων τοὺς ἀπολογησομένους· τοῦτο δ' εἰς Φωκέας ὡς πρὸς συμμαχοὺς ἐπορεύετο, καὶ πρέσβεις Φωκέων ἦσαν οἱ παρηκολούθουν αὐτῷ πορευομένῳ, καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἥριζον οἱ πολλοὶ Θηβαίοις οὐ λυσιστελέσειν τὴν ἐκείνου ἀπαροδον. Καὶ μὴν καὶ Φερὰς πρῆν ὡς φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος εἰς Θετταλίαν ἐλθὼν ἔχει

καταλαβόν, καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα τοῖς παλαϊκύροις Ὀφραίταις A
 τοῖσιν αἰσχυρομένους ἔφη τοὺς στρατιώτας πεπορνεῖναι κατ'
 εὐνοίαν· πυροβάρεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὡς τοσοῦτοι καὶ στασιάζου-
 σιν, συμμέχων δ' εἶναι καὶ φίλων ἀληθινῶν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις
 καιροῖς παρῆναι. Ἐλτ' οἶσεθ' αὐτόν, οἱ ἐπαύσαν μὲν οὐδὲν
 ἂν κακόν, μὴ παθεῖν δ' ἐφοράζαντ' ἂν ἴσως, τοῖσιν μὲν ἐξ-
 απατῶν αἰρεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ προλέγοντα βιάζεσθαι, ὅμιν δ' ἐκ
 προφύσεως πολεμέσκειν, καὶ ταῦθ' ἕως ἂν ἐκόντες ἐξαπατᾶσθε;
 οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα· καὶ γὰρ ἂν ἀβελτερώτατος εἴη πάντων
 ἀνθρώπων, εἰ τῶν ἀδικουμένων ὅμιν μὲν ἐγκαλοῦντων
 αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' ὅμιν αὐτῶν τινας αἰτιωμένων, ἐκείνος ἐκλύσας B
 τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔριν ὅμιν καὶ φιλονεικίαν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν
 προκίποι τρέπεσθαι, καὶ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ μισθοφορούντων τοὺς
 λόγους ἀφέλονται, οἷς ἀναβάλλουσιν ὑμᾶς, λέγοντες ὡς ἐκείνους
 γε σὺ πολεμεῖ τῇ πόλει.

Ἄλλ' ἔστιν, ὃ πρὸς τοῦ Διός, δοτις εἰ φρονῶν ἐκ τῶν ὄνο- 4
 μάτων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων τὸν ἄγοντ' εἰρήνην ἢ πολε-
 μουσθ' ἑαυτῷ σκέψαιτ' ἂν; οὐδεὶς δῆπου. Ὁ τοίνυν Φίλιπ-
 πος ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἔργῳ τῆς εἰρήνης γεγονυίας, οὕτω Διοκρίτους
 στρατηγούσης οὐδὲ τῶν ὄντων ἐν Χερρόνησσι νῦν ἀπεσταλ-
 μένων, Ζέρρων καὶ Δορίστων ἐλάμβανε καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Σερφίου C
 τεύχεους καὶ ἱεροῦ ὄρους στρατιώτας ἐξέβαλλεν, οὗς ὁ ὑμέτερος
 στρατηγὸς κατέστησεν. Καίτοι ταῦτα πράττων τί ποιεῖ;
 εἰρήνην μὲν γὰρ ὀρωπόκει. Καὶ μηδεὶς εἴπῃ, τί δὲ ταῦτ'
 ἐστίν, ἢ τί τούτων μέλει τῇ πόλει; εἰ μὲν γὰρ μικρὰ ταῦτα ἢ
 μηδὲν ὅμιν αὐτῶν ἔμελεν, ἄλλος ἂν εἴη λόγος οὗτος· τὸ δ'
 εὐσεβὲς καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἂν τ' ἐπὶ μικροῦ τις ἂν τ' ἐπὶ μείζονος
 παραβαίῃ, τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει δύναμιν. Φέρε δὴ νῦν ἡνίκ' εἰς
 Χερρόνησον, ἦν βασιλεὺς καὶ πάντες οἱ Ἕλλητες ὑμέτεραν
 ἐγνώσασιν εἶναι, ξένους εἰσπέρκει καὶ βοοθεῖν ὁμολογεῖ καὶ
 ἐπιστέλλει ταῦτα, τί ποιεῖ; φῆς μὲν γὰρ σὺ πολεμεῖν, ἐγὼ δὲ D
 τοσοῦτον δέω ταῦτα ποιῶντα ἐκείνου ἄγειν ὁμολογεῖν τὴν
 πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰρήνην, δοτε καὶ Μεγάρων ἀπτόμενον καὶ ἐν
 Εἰβοίᾳ τυραννίδα κατασκευάζοντα καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ Ὀφραίαν παρ-
 οῦντα καὶ τὰ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ σκευροῦμενον καὶ πάνθ', ὅσα
 πράττει μετὰ τῆς δυσάρειας, ποιῶντα λύειν φησὶ τὴν εἰρήνην
 καὶ πολεμεῖν ὅμιν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς τὰ μηχανήματα ἐπιστάτας
 εἰρήνην ἄγειν φήσετε, ἕως ἂν αὐτὰ τοῖς τεύχεσιν ἤδη προ-
 ἄγωσιν. Ἄλλ' οὐ φήσετε· ὁ γὰρ, οἷς ἂν ἐγὼ ληφθῆην,
 ταῦτα πράττων καὶ κατασκευάζμενος, οὗτος ἐμὸν πολεμῆι,
 καὶ μῆτις βλάβη μὴδὲ ταῖς. Τίσιν οὖν ὑμεῖς ἀνδρονεύσαιτ'

α ἂν, εἴ τι γένοιτο; τῷ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀλλοτριωθῆναι, τῷ
 Μεγάρων καὶ τῆς Εὐβοίας τὸν πολεμοῦνθ' ὑμῖν γενέσθαι
 κύριον, τῷ Πελοποννησίου τὰ κείνου φρονῆσαι. Ἔτα τὸν
 τοῦτο τὸ μηχανήμα ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἰσάντα, τοῦτον εἰρήνην
 ἄγειν ἐγὼ φῶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἧς
 ἡμέρας ἀνεῖλε Φωκίας, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἔγωγ' αὐτὸν πολεμεῖν
 ὀρίζομαι. Ὑμᾶς δέ, ἐὰν ἀμύννησθε ἤδη, σωφρονήσκειν φημί,
 ἐὰν δὲ ἐάσητε, οὐδὲ τοῦθ' ὅταν βούλησθε δυνήσεσθε ποιῆσαι.
 Καὶ तुσοῦτόν γε ἀφέστηκε τῶν ἄλλων ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι
 τῶν συμβουλευόντων, ὥστε οὐδὲ δοκεῖ μοι περὶ Χαλκιδέων
 β νῦν σκοπεῖν οὐδὲ Βυζαντίου, ἀλλ' ἐπαμῦναι μὲν τοῦτοις, καὶ
 διατηρῆσαι μὴ τι πάθωσι, βουλεύεσθαι μέντοι περὶ πάντων
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὡς ἐν κινδύνῳ μεγάλῳ καθεστώτων. Βούλο-
 μαι δ' εἰπεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐξ ὧν ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων οὕτω
 φοβοῦμαι, ἵν' εἰ μὲν ὀρθῶς λογίζομαι, μετάσχητε τῶν λογισ-
 μῶν καὶ πρόνοιάν τιν' ὑμῶν γ' αὐτῶν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
 ἄρα βούλεσθε, ποιήσησθε, ἂν δὲ ληρεῖν καὶ τετυφῶσθαι δοκῶ,
 μήτε νῦν μῆτ' αὖθις ὡς ὑγιαίνοντί μοι προσέχητε.

5 "Οτι μὲν δὴ μέγας ἐκ μικροῦ καὶ ταπεινοῦ τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς
 Φίλιππος ᾗξῃται, καὶ ἀπίστως καὶ στασιαστικῶς ἔχουσι πρὸς
 c αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ ὅτι πολλῷ παραδοξότερον ἦν τοσοῦτον
 αὐτὸν ἐξ ἐκείνου γενέσθαι ἢ νῦν, ὅθ' οὕτω πολλὰ προεῖληφε,
 καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὑφ' αὐτῷ ποιήσασθαι, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα τοιαῦτ' ἂν
 ἔχοιμι διεξελλθεῖν, παραλείψω. Ἀλλ' ὁρῶ συγκεχωρηκότας
 ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους, ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἀρξαμένους, αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ οὗ τὸν
 ἄλλον ἅπαντα χρόνον πάντες οἱ πόλεμοι γεγόνασιν οἱ Ἕλλη-
 νικοί. Τί οὖν ἐστὶ τοῦτο; τὸ παεῖν ὃ τι βούλεται, καὶ καθ'
 ἕνα οὕτω περικόπτειν καὶ λωποδυτεῖν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ
 καταδουλοῦσθαι τὰς πόλεις ἐπιόντα. Καίτοι προσταταί μὲν
 ὑμεῖς ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη καὶ τρία τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐγένεσθε, προ-
 d στάται δὲ τριάκοντα ἐνὸς δέοντα Λακεδαιμόνιοι· ἴσχυσαν δέ τι
 καὶ Θηβαῖοι τοιούτοις τοὺς τελευταίους χρόνους μετὰ τὴν ἐν
 Λεύκτροις μάχην. Ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐθ' ὑμῖν οὔτε Θηβαίοις οὔτε
 Λακεδαιμονίοις οὐδεπώποτε, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, συνεχρῆσθαι
 τοῦθ' ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ποιεῖν ὃ τι βούλασθε, οὐδὲ πολλοῦ
 δεῖ, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ὑμῖν, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖς τότ' οὔσιν Ἀθη-
 ναίοις, ἐπειδὴ τισιν οὐ μετρίως ἐδόκουν προσφέρεισθαι, πάντες
 ᾤοντο δεῖν, καὶ οἱ μηδὲν ἐγκαλεῖν ἔχοντες αὐτοῖς μετὰ τῶν
 ἡδικομένων πολεμεῖν, καὶ πάλιν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀρξάσι καὶ
 παρελθοῦσιν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν δυναστείαν ὑμῖν, ἐπειδὴ πλεονάζειν
 ἐπιχείρουν καὶ πέρα τοῦ μετρίου τὰ καθεστηκότα ἐκίνον,

καταλαβόν, καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα τοῖς τालαιπύροις Ὀρείταις α
 τουτοῖσι ἐπισκεψομένους ἔφη τοὺς στρατιώτας πεπομφέναι κατ'
 εὐνοίαν· πυνθάνεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὡς νοσοῦσι καὶ στασιάζου-
 σιν, συμμάχων δ' εἶναι καὶ φίλων ἀληθινῶν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις
 καιροῖς παρῆναι. Εἴτ' οἶεσθ' αὐτόν, οἱ ἐποίησαν μὲν οὐδὲν
 ἂν κακόν, μὴ παθεῖν δ' ἐφυλάξαντ' ἂν ἴσως, τούτους μὲν ἐξ-
 απατῆν αἰρεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ προλέγοντα βιάζεσθαι, ὑμῖν δ' ἐκ
 προρρήσεως πολεμήσειν, καὶ ταῦθ' ἔως ἂν ἐκόντες ἐξαπατᾶσθε;
 οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα· καὶ γὰρ ἂν ἀβελτερώτατος εἴη πάντων
 ἀνθρώπων, εἰ τῶν ἀδικουμένων ὑμῶν μηδὲν ἐγκαλοῦντων
 αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν τινας αἰτιωμένων, ἐκεῖνος ἐκλύσας β
 τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔριν ὑμῶν καὶ φιλονεικίαν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν
 προεἶποι τρέπεσθαι, καὶ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ μισθοφορούντων τοὺς
 λόγους ἀφέλοιτο, οἷς ἀναβάλλουσιν ὑμᾶς, λέγοντες ὡς ἐκεῖνός
 γε οὐ πολεμεῖ τῇ πόλει.

Ἄλλ' ἔστιν, ὦ πρὸς τοῦ Διός, ὅστις εὖ φρονῶν ἐκ τῶν ὀνο- 4
 μάτων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων τὸν ἄγοντ' εἰρήνην ἢ πολε-
 μοῦνθ' ἑαυτῷ σκέψαιτ' ἂν; οὐδεὶς δῆπου. Ὁ τοίνυν Φίλιπ-
 πος ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἄρτι τῆς εἰρήνης γεγонуίας, οὐκ ἂν Διοκρίτους
 στρατηγοῦντος οὐδὲ τῶν ὄντων ἐν Χερρόνησσι νῦν ἀπεσταλ-
 μένων, Σέρριον καὶ Δορίσκον ἐλάμβανε καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Σεβρίου c
 τεύχους καὶ Ἱεροῦ ὄρους στρατιώτας ἐξεβαλλεν, οὓς ὁ ὑμέτερος
 στρατηγὸς κατέστησεν. Καίτοι ταῦτα πράττων τί ἐποίει;
 εἰρήνην μὲν γὰρ ὁμωμόκει. Καὶ μηδεὶς εἴπῃ, τί δὲ ταῦτ'
 ἐστίν, ἢ τί τούτων μέλει τῇ πόλει; εἰ μὲν γὰρ μικρὰ ταῦτα ἢ
 μηδὲν ὑμῖν αὐτῶν ἔμελεν, ἄλλος ἂν εἴη λόγος οὗτος· τὸ δ'
 εὖσεβὲς καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἂν ἔ' ἐπὶ μικροῦ τις ἂν ἔ' ἐπὶ μείζονος
 παραβαίνει, τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει δύναμιν. Φέρε δὴ νῦν ἡνίκ' εἰς
 Χερρόνησον, ἣν βασιλεὺς καὶ πάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ὑμετέραν
 ἐγνώκασιν εἶναι, ξένους εἰσπέμπει καὶ βοηθεῖν ὁμολογεῖ καὶ
 ἐπιστέλλει ταῦτα, τί ποιεῖ; φῆς μὲν γὰρ οὐ πολεμεῖν, ἐγὼ δὲ d
 τασούτου δέω ταῦτα ποιοῦντα ἐκεῖνον ἄγειν ὁμολογεῖν τὴν
 πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰρήνην, ὥστε καὶ Μεγάρων ἀπτόμενον καὶ ἐν
 Εὐβοίᾳ τυραννίδα κατασκευάζοντα καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ Θόρκῃ παρ-
 ιόντα καὶ τὰ ἐν Πελοποννήσῃ σκευωρούμενον καὶ πάνθ', ὅσα
 πράττει μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, ποιοῦντα λυεῖν φημι τὴν εἰρήνην
 καὶ πολεμεῖν ὑμῖν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς τὰ μηχανήματα ἐφιστάνας
 εἰρήνην ἄγειν φήσετε, ἔως ἂν αὐτὰ τοῖς τείχεσιν ἤδη προσ-
 άγωσιν. Ἄλλ' οὐ φήσετε· ὁ γάρ, οἷς ἂν ἐγὼ ληφθῇην,
 ταῦτα πράττων καὶ κατασκευάζόμενος, οὗτος ἐμοὶ πολεμεῖ,
 κἂν μήπω βάλλῃ μηδὲ τοξεύῃ. Τίσιν οὖν ὑμεῖς κινδυνεύσιτ'

- α ἂν, εἴ τι γένοιτο; τῷ τὸν Ἑλλησποτον ἄλλοτριωθῆναι, τῷ
 Μεγάρων καὶ τῆς Εὐβοίας τὸν πολεμοῦνθ' ὑμῖν γενέσθαι
 κύριον, τῷ Πελοποννησίους τάκεινον φρονῆσαι. Εἶτα τὸν
 τοῦτο τὸ μηχανήμα ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἰσάντα, πῶτον εἰρήνην
 ἄγειν ἐγὼ φῶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἧς
 ἡμέρας ἀνείλε Φωκίας, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἔγωγ' αὐτὸν πολεμεῖν
 ὀρίζομαι. Ὑμᾶς δέ, εἰαν ἀμύνησθε ἤδη, σωφρονῆσαι φημί,
 εἰαν δὲ ἐάσητε, οὐδὲ τοῦθ' ὅταν βούλησθε δυνήσεσθε ποιῆσαι.
 Καὶ τισούτῳ γε ἀφέστηκα τῶν ἄλλων ὧ. ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι
 τῶν συμβουλευόντων, ὥστε οὐδὲ δοκεῖ μοι περὶ Χαβρόνησου
 β νῦν σκοπεῖν οὐδὲ Βυζαντίον, ἀλλ' ἐπαμῦναι μὲν τοῦτοις, καὶ
 διατηρῆσαι μὴ τι πάθωσι, βουλεύεσθαι μέντοι περὶ πάντων
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὡς ἐν κινδύνῳ μεγάλῳ καθεστῶτων. Βούλο-
 μαι δ' εἰπεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐξ ὧν ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων οὕτω
 φοβοῦμαι, ἵν' εἰ μὲν ὀρθῶς λογιζομαι, μετὰσχῃτε τῶν λαγισ-
 μῶν καὶ πρόνοιάν τιν' ὑμῶν γ' αὐτῶν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
 ἄρα βούλεσθε, ποιήσησθε, ἂν δὲ ληρεῖν καὶ τετυφῶσθαι δοκῶ,
 μήτε νῦν μήτ' αὐθις ὡς ὑγιαίνοντί μοι προσέχῃτε.
- 5 "Οτι μὲν δὴ μέγας ἐκ μικροῦ καὶ ταπεινοῦ τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς
 Φίλιππος ᾗξῃται, καὶ ἀπίστως καὶ στασιαστικῶς ἔχουσιν πρὸς
 α αὐτούς οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ ὅτι πολλῶ παραδοξότερον ἦν τισούτων
 αὐτὸν ἐξ ἐκείνου γενέσθαι ἢ νῦν, ὅθ' οὕτω πολλὰ προείληφε,
 καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὑφ' αὐτῷ ποιήσασθαι, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα τοιαῦτ' ἂν
 ἔχοιμι διεξελεῖν, παραλείψω. Ἀλλ' ὁρῶ συγκεχωρηκότας
 ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους, ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἀρξαμένους, αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ οὗ τὸν
 ἄλλον ἅπαντα χρόνον πάντες οἱ πόλεμοι γεγόνασιν οἱ Ἕλλη-
 νικοί. Τί οὖν ἐστὶ τοῦτο; τὸ ποιεῖν ὃ τι βούλεται, καὶ καθ'
 ἓνα οὕτως περικόπτειν καὶ λωποδυτεῖν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ
 καταδουλοῦσθαι τὰς πόλεις ἐπιόντα. Καίτοι προστάται μὲν
 ὑμεῖς ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη καὶ τρία τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐγένεσθε, προ-
 δ στάται δὲ τριάκοντα ἐνὸς δέοντα Λακεδαιμόνιοι· ἴσχυσαν δέ τι
 καὶ Θηβαῖοι τούτωνσι τοὺς τελευταίους χρόνους μετὰ τὴν ἐν
 Λεύκτροις μάχην. Ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐθ' ὑμῖν οὔτε Θηβαίοις οὔτε
 Λακεδαιμονίοις οὐδέπώποτε, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, συνεχωρήθη
 τοῦθ' ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ποιεῖν ὃ τι βούλωνθε, οὐδὲ πολλοῦ
 δεῖ, ἀλλὰ ταῦτο μὲν ὑμῖν, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖς τότ' οὖσιν Ἀθη-
 ναίοις, ἐπειδὴ τισιν οὐ μετρίως ἐδόκουν προσφέρεσθαι, πάντες
 ᾤοντο δεῖν, καὶ οἱ μὴδὲν ἐγκαλεῖν ἔχοντες αὐτοῖς μετὰ τῶν
 ἡδικομένων πολεμεῖν, καὶ πάλιν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀρξασθαι καὶ
 παρελθοῦσιν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν δυναστείαν ὑμῖν, ἐπειδὴ πλεονάζειν
 ἐπεχείρουν καὶ πέρα ταῦ μετρίου τὰ καθεστηκότα εἶκονιν,

πάντες εἰς πόλεμον κατέστησαν, καὶ οἱ μὴδὲν ἐγκαλοῦντες α
αὐτοῖς. Καὶ τί δεῖ τοὺς ἄλλους λέγειν; ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ
καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὐδὲν ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοντες ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὃ τι ἡδι-
κούμεθ' ὑπ' ἀλλήλων, ὅμως ὑπὲρ ὧν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀδικουμένους
ἰωρῶμεν, πολεμεῖν φόμεθα δεῖν. Καίτοι πάνθ' ὅσα ἐξημάρ-
τῃται καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐν ταῖς τριάκοντ' ἐκείνοις ἔτεσι καὶ
τούς ἡμετέροις προγόνους ἐν ταῖς ἐβδομήκοντα, ἐλάττω δ' ἐστίν,
ὧς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὧν Φίλιππος ἐν τρισὶ καὶ δέκα οὐχ ὅλοις
ἔτεσιν οἷς ἐπιπολάζει ἡδίκηκε τοὺς Ἕλληνας, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ
πέμποντο μέρους τούτων ἐκείνα. Ὀλυνθον μὲν δὴ καὶ Μεθώνην
καὶ Ἀπολλωνίαν καὶ δύο καὶ τριάκοντα πόλεις ἐπὶ Θράκης ἐώ, B
δὲ ἀπάσας οὕτως ὡμῶς ἀγῆρηκεν, ὥστε μὴδ' εἰ πῶποτε' ἐκῆ-
θησαν προσελθόντ' εἶναι ῥῥοῖαν εἰπεῖν· καὶ τὸ Φωκίων ἐθνὸς
τοσούτου ἀνγρημένον σιωπῶ. Ἀλλὰ Θετταλία πῶς ἔχει;
οὐχὶ τὰς πολιτείας καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν παρῆρηται καὶ
τετραρχίας κατέστησεν, ἵνα μὴ μόνον κατὰ πόλεις ἀλλὰ καὶ
κατ' ἔθνη δουλεύωσιν; αἱ δ' ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ πόλεις οὐκ ἤδη τυραν-
νεύονται, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν γήσῃ πλησίον Θηβῶν καὶ Ἀθηνῶν; οὐ
διαβρόχῃ εἰς τὰς ἐπιστολάς γράφει "ἐμοὶ δ' ἐστὶν εἰρήνη
πρὸς τοὺς ἀκούσαν ἐμῷ βουλομένους;" καὶ οὐ γράφει μὲν
ταῦτα, τοῖς δ' ἔργοις οὐ ποιεῖ, ἀλλ' ἐφ' Ἑλλήσποντον οἰχεται, C
πρότερον ἤκεκ' ἐπ' Ἀμβρακίαν, Ἢλιν ἔχει τηλικαύτην πόλιν
ἐν Πελοποννήσῃ, Μεγαίρους ἐπιβούλευσε πρῆν, οὐθ' ἡ
Ἑλλάς οὐθ' ἡ βάρβαρος γῆν πλουτεῖαν χωρεῖ τὰνθρόπου.
Καὶ ταῦθ' ὁρῶντες οἱ Ἕλληνες θῶντες καὶ ἀκούοντες οὐ
πέμπομεν πρέσβεις περὶ τούτων πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀγανακ-
τοῦμεν, οὕτω δὲ κακῶς διακαίμεθα καὶ διορωρύγμεθα κατὰ
πόλεις, ὥστ' ἄχρι τῆς γῆμερον ἡμέρας οὐδὲν οὔτε τῶν συμ-
φερόντων οὔτε τῶν δεόντων πρᾶξαι δυνάμεθα, οὐδὲ συστήναι,
οὐδὲ κοινωνίαν βοηθείας καὶ φιλίας σὺνδεμίαν ποιήσασθαι,
ἀλλὰ μείζω γιγνόμενον τὸν ἄνθρωπον περιορῶμεν τὸν χρό- D
νον κερδᾶναι τοῦτον· ὃν ἄλλος ἀπόλλυται ἕκαστος ἐγγακῶς,
ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, οὐχ ὅπως σωθήσεται τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σκο-
πῶν αὐδὲ πράττων, ἐπεὶ ὅτι γε ὥσπερ περίοδος ἡ καταβολὴ
πυρετοῦ ἢ τιμὸς ἄλλου κακοῦ καὶ τῷ πάνν πῶβῳ δοκοῦντι
νῦν ἀφενδάναι προσέρχεται, οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ. Καὶ μὴν κατελινό
γε ἴστα, ὅτι ὅσα μὲν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἢ ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐπασσόν
οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀλλ' οὐκ ὑπὸ γνησίων γε ὄντων. τῆς Ἑλλάδος
ἡδικοῦντο, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἂν τις ἐπέλαβε τοῦθ', ὥσπερ
ἂν εἰ υἱὸς ἐν οὐσίᾳ πολλῇ γογονῶς γνήσιος διψᾷ τι μὴ
καλῶς μὴδ' ὀρθῶς, κατ' αὐτὸ μὲν τοῦτο ἄξιον μέμψαντος εἶπαι·

Α καὶ κατηγορίας, ὥς δ' οὐ προσήκων ἢ ὥς οὐ κληρονόμος τούτων ὦν ταῦτα ἐποίει, οὐκ ἐνεῖναι λέγειν. Εἰ δέ γε δούλος ἢ ὑποβολιμαῖος τὰ μὴ προσήκοντα ἀπώλλυε καὶ ἰλουμαίνετο, Ἡράκλεις ὅσῳ μᾶλλον δεινὸν καὶ ὀργῆς ἄξιον πάντες ἂν ἔφησαν εἶναι! ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου καὶ ὦν ἐκεῖνος πράττει νῦν, οὐχ οὕτως ἔχουσιν, οὐ μόνον οὐχ Ἕλληνας ὄντας οὐδὲ προσήκοντος οὐδὲν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ βαρβάρου ἐντεῦθεν ὅθεν καλὸν εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ' ὀλέθρου Μακεδόνας, ὅθεν οὐδ' ἀνδράποδον σπουδαῖον οὐδὲν ἦν πρότερον.

6 Καίτοι τί τῆς ἐσχάτης ὕβρεως ἀπολείπει; οὐ πρὸς τῇ
 Β πόλεις ἀντρηκέναι τίθησι μὲν τὰ Πύθια, τὸν κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀγῶνα, καὶ αὐτὸς μὴ παρῇ, τοὺς δούλους ἀγωνοθετήσοντας πέμπει; γράφει δὲ Θετταλοῖς ὃν χρὴ τρόπον πολιτεύεσθαι; πέμπει δὲ ξένους τοὺς μὲν εἰς Πορθμόν, τὸν δῆμον ἐκβαλοῦντας τὸν Ἑρετριέων, τοὺς δ' ἐπ' Ὀρεόν, τύραννον Φιλισιτὶδην καταστήσοντας; ἀλλ' ὅμως ταῦθ' ὀρῶντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀνέχονται, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὥσπερ τὴν χάλαζαν ἐμοίγε δοκοῦσι θεωρεῖν, εὐχόμενοι μὴ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἕκαστοι γενέσθαι, κωλύειν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐπιχειρῶν. Οὐ μόνον δ' ἐφ' ὅς ἢ Ἑλλὰς ὑβρίζεται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, οὐδεὶς ἀμύνεται, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὑπὲρ
 C ὦν αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἀδικεῖται· τοῦτο γὰρ ἤδη τοῦσχατόν ἐστιν. Οὐ Κορινθίων ἐπ' Ἀμβρακίαν ἐλήλυθε καὶ Λευκάδα; οὐκ Ἀχαιῶν Ναύπακτον ὁμώμοκεν Αἰτωλοῖς παραδῶσειν; οὐχὶ Θηβαίων Ἐχίνον ἀφῆρηται; καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ Βυζαντίους πορεύεται συμμάχους ὄντας; οὐχ ἡμῶν, ἐγὼ τὰλλα, ἀλλὰ Χερρόνησον τὴν μεγίστην ἔχει πόλιν Καρδίαν; ταῦτα τοίνυν πάσχοντες ἅπαντες μέλλομεν καὶ μαλακιζόμεθα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πλησίον βλέπομεν, ἀπιστοῦντες ἀλλήλοις, οὐ τῷ πάντας ἡμᾶς ἀδικοῦντι. Καίτοι τὸν ἅπανιν ἀσελγῶς οὕτω χρώμενον τί οἴεσθε, ἐπειδὴν καθ' ἓνα ἡμῶν ἐκάστον κύριος γέννηται, τί ποιήσιν;

7 Τί οὖν αἴτιον τούτων; οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ λόγου καὶ δικαίας
 Β αἰτίας οὔτε τόθ' οὕτως εἶχον ἐτοίμως πρὸς ἐλευθερίαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, οὔτε νῦν πρὸς τὸ δουλεῖν. Ἦν τι τότε, ἦν δ' ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν διανοαίς, ὃ νῦν οὐκ ἔστιν, ὃ καὶ τοῦ Περσῶν ἐκράτησε πλούτου καὶ ἐλευθερίαν ἦγε τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ οὔτε ναυμαχίας οὔτε πεζῆς μάχης οὐδεμιᾶς ἠττάτο, νῦν δ' ἀπολωλὸς ἅπαντα λελύμανται καὶ ἄνω καὶ κάτω πεποιήκε πάντα τὰ πράγματα. Τί οὖν ἦν τοῦτο; τοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἄρχων βουλομένων ἢ διαφθείρειν τὴν Ἑλλάδα χρήματα λαμβάνοντας ἅπαντες ἐμίσουν, καὶ χαλεπώτατον ἦν

τὸ δωροδοκοῦντα ἐξελεγχθῆναι, καὶ τιμωρίᾳ μεγίστῃ τοῦτον Ἀ ἐκόλαζον. Τὸν οὖν καιρὸν ἐκείνου τῶν πραγμάτων, ὃν ἡ τύχη πολλάκις παρασκευάζει, οὐκ ἦν πρίασθαι παρὰ τῶν λεγόντων οὐδὲ τῶν στρατηγούντων, οὐδὲ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμόνοιαν, οὐδὲ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀπιστίαν, οὐδ' ὅλως τοιοῦτον οὐδέν. Νῦν δ' ἄπανθ' ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἐκπέπραται ταῦτα, ἀντεισθεται δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων, ἢ φ' ὦν ἀπόλωλε καὶ γενόσθηκεν ἡ Ἑλλάς. Ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ τί ; ζῆλος, εἰ τις εἰληφέ τι· γέλως, ἂν ὁμολογῇ· μῖστος, ἂν τοῦτοις τις ἐπιτιμῇ· τάλλα πάνθ' ὅσα ἐκ τοῦ δωροδοκεῖν ἥρτηται. Ἐπεὶ τριήρεις γε καὶ σώματων πλῆθος καὶ χρημάτων καὶ τῆς Β ἄλλης κατασκευῆς ἀφθονία, καὶ τάλλα οἷς ἂν τις ἰσχύειν τὰς πόλεις κρίνῃ, νῦν ἅπανσι καὶ πλεῖω καὶ μείζω ἐστὶ τῶν τότε πολλῷ. Ἄλλ' ἅπαντα ταῦτ' ἀχρηστα ἄπρακτα ἀνόνητα ἐπὶ τῶν πωλούντων γίγνεται.

Ὅτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει, τὰ μὲν νῦν ὁρᾶτε δήπου καὶ οὐδὲν 8 ἐμοῦ προσδεῖσθε μάρτυρος· τὰ δ' ἐν τοῖς ἄνωθεν χρόνοις ὅτι τὰναντία εἶχεν, ἐγὼ δηλώσω, οὐ λόγους ἐμαυτοῦ λέγων, ἀλλὰ γράμματα τῶν προγόνων τῶν ὑμετέρων, ἃ κείνοι κατέθετο εἰς στήλην χαλκῇν γράψαντες εἰς ἀκρόπολιν. Ἀρθμιος, φησὶν, ὁ Πυθώνακτος Ζελεΐτης ἀτιμος καὶ πολέμιος τοῦ δήμου C τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν συμμαχῶν, αὐτὸς καὶ γένος. Εἴθ' ἡ αἰτία γέγραπται, δι' ἣν ταῦτ' ἐγένετο· ὅτι τὸν χρυσὸν τὸν ἐκ Μήδων εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἤγαγεν. Ταῦτ' ἐστὶ τὰ γράμματα. Λογίζεσθε δὴ πρὸς θεῶν, τίς ἦν ποθ' ἡ διάνοια τῶν Ἀθηναίων τῶν τότε ταῦτα ποιοούντων, ἢ τί τὸ ἀξίωμα. Ἐκεῖνοι Ζελεΐτην τινὰ Ἀρθμιον δοῦλον βασιλείως (ἡ γὰρ Ζελεΐα ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀσίας), ὅτι τῷ δεσπότη διακονῶν χρυσίον ἤγαγεν εἰς Πελοπόννησον, οὐκ Ἀθήναζε, ἐχθρὸν αὐτῶν ἀνέγραψαν καὶ τῶν συμμαχῶν, αὐτὸν καὶ γένος, καὶ ἀτίμους. Τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν οὐχ ἦν ἂν τις οὕτωςι φήσειεν ἀτιμίαν· τί γὰρ τῷ Ζελεΐτῃ, D τῶν Ἀθηναίων κοινῶν εἰ μὴ μεθέξειν ἐμελλεν ; ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς φονικοῖς γέγραπται νόμοις, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν μὴ διδῷ δίκας φόνου δικάσασθαι, “καὶ ἀτιμος” φησὶ “τεθνάτω.” Τοῦτο δὴ λέγει, καθαρὸν τὸν τούτων τινὰ ἀποκτείναντα εἶναι. Οὐκοῦν ἐνόμιζον ἐκεῖνοι τῆς πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων σωτηρίας αὐτοῖς ἐπιμελητέον εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν αὐτοῖς ἐμελεν, εἰ τις ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ τινὰς ὠνεῖται καὶ διαφθείρει, μὴ τοῦθ' ὑπολαμβάνουσιν ἐκόλαζον δ' οὕτω καὶ ἐτιμωροῦντο οὐς αἰσθόιντο, ὥστε καὶ στήλῃτας ποιεῖν. Ἐκ δὲ τούτων εἰκότως τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἦν τῷ βαρβάρῳ φοβερά, οὐχ ὁ βάρβαρος τοῖς Ἕλλησιν. Ἄλλ'

Α καὶ κατηγορίας, ὥς δ' οὐ προσήκων ἢ ὥς οὐ κληρονόμος τούτων ὦν ταῦτα ἐποίει, οὐκ ἐνεῖναι λέγειν. Εἰ δέ γε δούλος ἢ ὑποβολιμαῖος τὰ μὴ προσήκοντα ἀπώλλυε καὶ ἐλυμαίνετο, Ἡράκλεις ὅσῳ μᾶλλον δεινὸν καὶ ὀργῆς ἄξιον πάντες ἂν ἔφησαν εἶναι! ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου καὶ ὧν ἐκείνος πράττει νῦν, οὐχ οὕτως ἔχουσιν, οὐ μόνον οὐχ Ἕλληνας ὄντος οὐδὲ προσήκοντος οὐδὲν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ βαρβάρου ἐντεῦθεν ὅθεν καλὸν εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ' ὀλέθρου Μακεδόνης, ὅθεν οὐδ' ἀνδράποδον σκουδαῖον οὐδὲν ἦν πρότερον.

6 Καίτοι τί τῆς ἐσχάτης ὕβρεως ἀπολείπει; οὐ πρὸς τῷ Β πόλεις ἀνθηρεῖναι τίθησι μὲν τὰ Πύθια, τὸν κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀγῶνα, καὶ αὐτὸς μὴ παρῇ, τοὺς δούλους ἀγωνοθετῶντας πέμπει; γράφει δὲ Θετταλοῖς ὃν χρὴ τρόπον πολιτεύεσθαι; πέμπει δὲ ξένους τοὺς μὲν εἰς Πορθμόν, τὸν δῆμον ἐκβαλοῦντας τὸν Ἑρετριῶν, τοὺς δ' ἐπ' Ὀρεόν, τύραννον Φιλιστίδην καταστήσοντας; ἀλλ' ὅμως ταῦθ' ὁρῶντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀνέχονται, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὥσπερ τὴν χάλαζαν ἔμοιγε δοκοῦσι θεωρεῖν, εὐχόμενοι μὴ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἕκαστοι γενέσθαι, κωλύειν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐπιχειρῶν. Οὐ μόνον δ' ἐφ' οἷς ἡ Ἑλλὰς ὑβρίζεται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, οὐδεὶς ἀμύνεται, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὑπὲρ C ὧν αὐτοὺς ἕκαστος ἀδικεῖται· τοῦτο γὰρ ἤδη τοῦσχατόν ἐστιν. Οὐ Κορινθίων ἐπ' Ἀμβρακίαν ἐλήλυθε καὶ Λευκάδα; οὐκ Ἀχαιῶν Ναύπακτον ὁμώμοκεν Αἰτωλοῖς παραδῶσειν; οὐχὶ Θηβαίων Ἐχῖνον ἀφήρηται; καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ Βυζαντίους πορεύεται συμμάχους ὄντας; οὐχ ἡμῶν, ἐγὼ τᾶλλα, ἀλλὰ Χερβόνῃ σου τὴν μεγίστην ἔχει πόλιν Καρδίαν; ταῦτα τοίνυν πάσχοντες ἅπαντες μέλλομεν καὶ μαλακίζόμεθα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πλησίον βλέπομεν, ἀπιστοῦντες ἀλλήλοις, οὐ τῷ πάντας ἡμᾶς ἀδικοῦντι. Καίτοι τὸν ἅπασιν ἀσελγῶς οὕτω χρώμενον τί οἴεσθε, ἐπειδὴν καθ' ἓνα ἡμῶν ἐκάστον κύριος γένηται, τί ποιήσειν;

7 Τί οὖν αἴτιον τούτων; οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ λόγου καὶ δικαίας D αἰτίας οὔτε τόθ' οὕτως εἶχον ἐοικώς πρὸς ἐλευθερίαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, οὔτε νῦν πρὸς τὸ δουλεύειν. Ἦν τι τότ', ἦν δ' ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν διανοαῖς, ὃ νῦν οὐκ ἔστιν, ὃ καὶ τοῦ Περσῶν ἐκράτησε πλούτον καὶ ἐλευθέραν ἦγε τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ οὔτε ναυμαχίας οὔτε πεζῆς μάχης οὐδεμιᾶς ἡττᾶτο, νῦν δ' ἀποθλωλὸς ἅπαντα λελύμανται καὶ ἄνω καὶ κάτω πεποίηκε πάντα τὰ πράγματα. Τί οὖν ἦν τοῦτο; τοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἄρχων βουλομένων ἢ διασφθεῖρειν τὴν Ἑλλάδα χρήματα λαμβάνοντας ἅπαντες ἐμίσουν, καὶ χαλεπώτατον ἦν

τὸ δωροδοκοῦντα ἐξελεγχθῆναι, καὶ τιμωρίᾳ μεγίστῃ τοῦτον Ἀ ἐκόλαζον. Τὸν οὖν καιρὸν ἐκείστον τῶν πραγμάτων, ὃν ἡ τύχη πολλακίς παρασκευάζει, οὐκ ἦν πρίασθαι παρὰ τῶν λεγόντων οὐδὲ τῶν στρατηγούντων, οὐδὲ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμόνοιαν, οὐδὲ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀπιστίαν, οὐδ' ὅπως τοιοῦτον οὐδέν. Νῦν δ' ἄπανθ' ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἐκπέπρσται ταῦτα, ἀντεισῆται δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων, ὑφ' ὧν ἀπόλωλε καὶ νενόσηκεν ἡ Ἑλλάς. Ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ τί ; ζῆλος, εἰ τις εἰληφέ τι' γέλως, ἂν ὁμολογῇ μῖστος, ἂν τούτοις τις ἐπιτιμῇ· τάλλα πάνθ' ὅσα ἐκ τοῦ δωροδοκεῖν ἥρτηται. Ἐπεὶ τριήρεις γε καὶ σώματων πληθος καὶ χρημάτων καὶ τῆς Β ἀλλης κατασκευῆς ἀφθονία, καὶ τάλλα οἷς ἂν τις ἰσχύειν τὰς πόλεις κρίνοι, νῦν ἅπασι καὶ πλείω καὶ μείζω ἐστὶ τῶν τότε πολλῶ. Ἀλλ' ἅπαντα ταῦτ' ἀχρηστοῦ ἀπρακτοῦ ἀνόνητα ἐπὶ τῶν πωλούντων γίγνεται.

Ὅτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει, τὰ μὲν νῦν ὁράτε δήπου καὶ οὐδὲν 8 ἐμοῦ προσδεῖσθε μάρτυρος· τὰ δ' ἐν τοῖς ἀνωθεν χρόνοις ὅτι τάναντία εἶχεν, ἐγὼ δηλώσω, σὺ λόγους ἐμαντοῦ λέγων, ἀλλὰ γράμματα τῶν προγόνων τῶν ὑμετέρων, ἃ' ἐκείνοι κατέθεντο εἰς στήλην χαλκῇν γράψαντες εἰς ἀκρόπολιν. Ἀρθμιος, φησὶν, ὁ Πυθώνακτος Ζελεΐτης ἀτιμος καὶ πολέμιος τοῦ δήμου C τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, αὐτὸς καὶ γένος. Εἴθ' ἡ αἰτία γέγραπται, δι' ἣν ταῦτ' ἐγένετο· ὅτι τὸν χρυσὸν τὸν ἐκ Μήδων εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἤγαγεν. Ταῦτ' ἐστὶ τὰ γράμματα. Λογιζέσθε δὴ πρὸς θεῶν, τίς ἦν ποθ' ἡ διάνοια τῶν Ἀθηναίων τῶν τότε ταῦτα ποιοούντων, ἢ τί τὸ αἶψιμα. Ἐκεῖνοι Ζελεΐτην τινὰ Ἀρθμιον δοῦλον βασιλείως (ἡ γὰρ Ζελεΐα ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀσίας), ὅτι τῷ δεσπότη διακονῶν χρυσίον ἤγαγεν εἰς Πελοπόννησον, οὐκ Ἀθήναζε, ἐχθρὸν αὐτῶν ἀνέγραψαν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, αὐτὸν καὶ γένος, καὶ ἀτίμους. Τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν σὺχ' ἦν ἂν τις οὕτωςι φήσκειν ἀτιμίαν· τί γὰρ τῷ Ζελεΐτῃ, D τῶν Ἀθηναίων κοινῶν εἰ μὴ μεθέξειν ἔμελλεν ; ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς φονικοῖς γέγραπται νόμοις, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν μὴ διδῷ δίκας φόνου δικάσασθαι, "καὶ ἀτιμος" φησὶ "τεθνάτω." Τοῦτο δὴ λέγει, καθαρὸν τὸν τούτων τινὰ ἀποκτείναντα εἶναι. Οὐκοῦν ἐνόμιζον ἐκεῖνοι τῆς πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων σωτηρίας αὐτοῖς ἐπιμελητέον εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν αὐτοῖς ἔμελεν, εἰ τις ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ τινὰς ὤνεϊται καὶ διαφθείρει, μὴ τοῦθ' ὑπολαμβάνουσιν ἐκόλαζον δ' οὕτω καὶ ἐτιμωροῦντο οὐς αἰσθοῖντο, ὥστε καὶ σπηλίτας ποιεῖν. Ἐκ δὲ τούτων εἰκότως τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἦν τῷ βαρβάρῳ φοβερά, σὺχ' ὁ βάρβαρος τοῖς Ἑλλήσι. Ἀλλ'

Α οὐ νῦν· οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχεθ' ὑμεῖς οὔτε πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα οὔτε πρὸς τάλλα, ἀλλὰ πῶς; εἰπώ; κελεύετε καὶ οὐκ ὀργιείσθε;

9 "Ἐστὶ τοίνυν τις εὐήθης λόγος παρὰ τῶν παραμυθεῖσθαι βουλομένων τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἄρα οὕτω Φίλιππος ἐστὶν οἷοί ποτ' ἦσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οἱ θαλάττης μὲν ἤρχον καὶ γῆς ἀπάσης, βασιλεία δὲ σύμμαχον εἶχον, ὑφίστατο δ' οὐδὲν αὐτούς· ἀλλ' ὁμως ἡμύνατο ἀκείνους ἢ πόλις καὶ οὐκ ἀνηρπάσθη. Ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπάντων ὡς ἔπος εἰπείν πολλὴν εἰληφόντων ἐπίδοσιν, καὶ οὐδὲν ὁμοίων ὄντων τῶν νῦν τοῖς πρότερον, οὐδὲν ἡγοῦμαι

Β πλέον ἢ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου κεκινήσθαι καὶ ἐπιδεδωκέναι. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀκούω Λακεδαιμονίους τότε καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους τέτταρας μῆνας ἢ πέντε, τὴν ὠραίαν αὐτὴν, ἐμβαλόντας ἂν καὶ κακώσαντας τὴν χώραν ὑπλίταις καὶ πολιτικοῖς στρατεύμασιν ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπ' οἶκον πάλιν· οὕτω δ' ἀρχαίως εἶχον, μᾶλλον δὲ πολιτικῶς, ὥστε οὐδὲ χρημάτων ὠνεῖσθαι παρ' οὐδενὸς οὐδέν, ἀλλ' εἶναι νόμιμόν τινα καὶ προφανῆ τὸν πόλεμον. Νυνὶ δ' ὁρᾶτε μὲν δήπου τὰ πλεῖστα τοὺς προδότας ἀπαλωλεκότας, οὐδὲν δ' ἐκ παρατάξεως οὐδὲ μάχης γιγνώμενον· ἀκούετε δὲ Φίλιππον οὐχὶ τῷ φάλαγγα ὀπλιτῶν ἀγεῖν

Γ βαδίζονθ' ὅποι βούλεται, ἀλλὰ τῷ ψιλοῦς, ἱππέας, τοξότας, ξένους, τοιοῦτον ἐξηρτῆσθαι στρατόπεδον. Ἐπειδὴν δ' ἐπὶ τοῖτοις πρὸς νοσοῦντας ἐν αὐτοῖς πρὸς πείσῃ καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας δι' ἀπιστίαν ἐξίη, μηχανήματ' ἐπιστήσας πολιορκεῖ. Καὶ σιωπῷ θέρος καὶ χειμῶνα, ὡς οὐδὲν διαφέρει, οὐδ' ἐστὶν ἐξαιρετος ὥρα τις, ἣν διαλείπει. Ταῦτα μέντοι πάντας εἰδόντας καὶ λογιζομένους οὐ δεῖ προσέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον εἰς τὴν χώραν, οὐδ' εἰς τὴν εὐθήθειαν τὴν τοῦ τότε πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πολέμου βλέποντας ἐκτραχηλισθῆναι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκ πλείστου φυλάττεσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, ὅπως

Δ οἰκοθεν μὴ κινήσεται σκοποῦντας, οὐχὶ συμπλακέντας διαγωνίζεσθαι. Πρὸς μὲν γὰρ πόλεμον πολλὰ φύσει πλεονεκτήμαθ' ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει, ἂν περ ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι ποιεῖν ἐθέλωμεν ἃ δεῖ, ἢ φύσις τῆς ἐκείνου χώρας, ἥς ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν ἔστι πολλὴν καὶ κακῶς ποιεῖν, ἅλλα μυρία· εἰς δὲ ἀγῶνα ἄμεινον ἡμῶν ἐκείνος ἤσκηται.

10 Οὐ μόνον δὲ δεῖ ταῦτα γιγνώσκειν, οὐδὲ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐκείνον ἀμύνεσθαι τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ τοὺς παρ' ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λέγοντας μισῆσαι, ἐνθυμονυμένους ὅτι οὐκ ἔνεστι τῶν τῆς πόλεως ἐχθρῶν κρατῆσαι, πρὶν ἂν τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει κολάσῃτε ὑπηρετοῦντας ἐκεί-

ἐκβαλόντων. Μωρία καὶ κακία τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐλπίζουσιν, καὶ Ἀ
κακῶς βουλευομένους καὶ μηδὲν ὧν προσήκει ποιεῖν ἐθέλοντας,
ἀλλὰ τῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν λεγόντων ἀκροωμένους, τηλικαύ-
την ἡγεῖσθαι πόλιν οἰκεῖν τὸ μέγεθος, ὥστε μὴδ' ἂν ὀτιοῦν ἢ
δεινὸν πείσεσθαι. Καὶ μὴν ἀκείνόν γε αἰσχροῦν, ὕστερόν ποτ'
εἶπεῖν “ τίς γὰρ ἂν φήθῃ ταῦτα γενέσθαι; νῆ τὸν Δία, ἔδει
γὰρ τὸ καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαι, καὶ τὸ μὴ ποιῆσαι.” Πολλὰ ἂν εἶπεν
ἔχοιεν Ὀλύνθιοι νῦν, ἃ τότε εἰ προείδοντο, οὐκ ἂν ἀπώλοντο·
πόλλ' ἂν Ὀρεῖται, πολλὰ Φωκεῖς, πολλὰ τῶν ἀπολωλότων
ἕκαστοι. Ἀλλὰ τί τούτων ὄφελος αὐτοῖς; ἕως ἂν σώζηται
τὸ σκάφος, ἂν τε μείζον ἂν τ' ἔλαττον ἢ, τότε χρὴ καὶ ναύτην Β
καὶ κυβερνήτην καὶ πάντ' ἄνδρα ἐξῆς προθύμους εἶναι, καὶ
ὅπως μὴθ' ἐκὼν μὴτ' ἄκων μηδεὶς ἀνατρέψῃ, τοῦτο σκοπεῖσθαι.
Ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἡ θάλαττα ὑπέρσχη, μάταιος ἡ σπουδή. Καὶ
ἡμεῖς τοῖνυν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἕως ἐσμέν σφῶι, πόλιν
μεγίστην ἔχοντες, ἀφορμὰς πλείστας, ἀξίωμα κάλλιστον, —
τί ποιῶμεν; πάλαι τις ἡδέως ἂν ἴσως ἐρωτήσων κάθηται.
Ἐγὼ νῆ Δί' ἐρῶ, καὶ γράψω δέ, ὥστε ἂν βούλησθε χειροτο-
νήσετε. Αὐτοὶ πρῶτον ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ παρασκευαζόμενοι,
τριήρεσι καὶ χρήμασι καὶ στρατιώταις λέγω· καὶ γὰρ ἂν
ἅπαντες δῆπου δουλεύειν συγχωρήσωσιν οἱ ἄλλοι, ἡμῖν γ' C
ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνιστέον· ταῦτα δὲ πάντα αὐτοὶ
παρεσκευασμένοι καὶ ποιήσαντες φανερά τοὺς ἄλλους ἤδη
παρακαλῶμεν, καὶ τοὺς ταῦτα διδάζοντας ἐκπέμπωμεν πρέσ-
βεις, ἵν' ἂν μὲν πείσητε, κοινωνοὺς ἔχητε καὶ τῶν κινδύνων
καὶ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων, ἂν τι δέη, εἰ δὲ μὴ, χρόνους γε ἐμ-
ποιήτε τοῖς πράγμασιν. Ἐπειδὴ γάρ ἐστι πρὸς ἄνδρα καὶ
οὐχὶ συνεστώσης πόλεως ἰσχὺν ὁ πόλεμος, οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἀχρησ-
τον, οὐδ' αἱ πέρυσι πρεσβεῖαι περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐκείναι
καὶ κατηγορίαι, ἃς ἐγὼ καὶ Πολύευκτος ὁ βέλτιστος ἐκείνοσιν
καὶ Ἠγήσιππος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρέσβεις περιήλθομεν, καὶ ἐποι- D
ήσαμεν ἐπισχεῖν ἐκείνον καὶ μὴτ' ἐπ' Ἀμβρακίαν ἐλθεῖν μὴτ'
εἰς Πελοπόννησον ὀρμῆσαι. Οὐ μέντοι λέγω μηδὲν αὐτοὺς
ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀναγκαῖον ἐθέλοντας ποιεῖν τοὺς ἄλλους παρα-
καλεῖν· καὶ γὰρ εὖθες τὰ οἰκεῖα αὐτοὺς προεμένους τῶν ἄλλο-
τρίων φάσκειν κήδεσθαι, καὶ τὰ παρόντα περιορῶντας ὑπὲρ
τῶν μελλόντων τοὺς ἄλλους φοβεῖν. Οὐ λέγω ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ
τοῖς μὲν ἐν Χερρόνησῳ χρήματ' ἀποστέλλειν φημί δεῖν καὶ
τᾶλλα ὅσα ἀξιοῦσι ποιεῖν, αὐτοὺς δὲ παρασκευάζεσθαι, τοὺς
δ' ἄλλους Ἑλληνας συγκαλεῖν συνάγειν διδάσκειν ρουθετεῖν
ταῦτ' ἐστὶ πόλεως ἀξίωμα ἐχούσης ἡλικὸν ὑμῖν ὑπάρχει. Εἰ

ἢ δ' οἴεσθε Χαλκιδέας τὴν Ἑλλάδα σώσειν ἢ Μεγαρέας, ὑμεῖς δ' ἀποδράσεσθαι τὰ πράγματα, οὐκ ὀρθῶς οἴεσθε· ἀγαπητὸν γάρ, ἂν αὐτοὶ σώζωνται τούτων ἕκαστοι. Ἄλλ' ὑμῖν τοῦτο πρακτέον· ὑμῖν οἱ πρόγονοι τοῦτο τὸ γέρας ἐκτήσαντο καὶ κατέλιπον μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων κινδύνων. Εἰ δ' ὁ βούλεται ζητῶν ἕκαστος καθεδεῖται, καὶ ὅπως μὴδὲν αὐτὸς ποιήσει σκοπῶν, πρῶτον μὲν οὐδὲ μὴ ποθ' εἶρη τοὺς ποιήσοντας, ἔπειτα δέδοικα ὅπως μὴ πάνθ' ἅμα, ὅσα οὐ βουλόμεθα, ποιῇν ἡμῖν ἀνάγκη γενήσεται.

- 15 Ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα λέγω, ταῦτα γράφω· καὶ οἶομαι καὶ νῦν ἐτι ἐπανορθωθῆναι ἂν τὰ πράγματα τούτων γιγνομένων· εἰ δέ τις ἔχει τούτων βέλτιον, λεγέτω καὶ συμβουλευέτω. Ὅτι δ' ὑμῖν δοῖει, τούτ', ὧ πάντες θεοί, συνενέγκαι.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

FIRST PHILIPPIC.

(From F. Jacobs.)

IN order to understand the Orations of Demosthenes against Philip, it is absolutely necessary that we should possess some knowledge of the most remarkable events of the period to which they refer. The Peloponnesian war had been brought to a close, but the spirit of international jealousy was as far as ever from being extinguished. Athens, it is true, had been humbled by the strenuous and persevering exertions of Sparta, aided by Persian gold; but no sooner was this effected, than the haughtiness and oligarchical tyranny of the victorious state again kindled the flames of discord.

A restless and uneasy feeling pervaded the whole of Greece, and occasioned the rapid formation of confederacies, which were as speedily dissolved; the want of mutual confidence rendering the struggles of individual states more injurious to one another than to the dominant power. Meanwhile Athens, by dint of unwearied activity, was rapidly regaining the position which she had formerly occupied among the nations of Greece; but another formidable enemy now appeared, in the person of Philip king of Macedonia, whose political and military talents eventually elevated his kingdom to the rank of a first-rate European power. Misunderstandings, occasioned by the commercial rapacity of the one party and the ambition of the other, terminated in a war, in which the divided counsels of the Greeks and the caprice of a lawless democracy at Athens were unfavorably contrasted with the uniform and calculating policy of the Macedonian autocrat. The result was such as might have been anticipated. Availing himself of the distracted condition of the Grecian states, Philip put an end to their struggles with one another for the shadow of a Hegemony, by appropriating to himself all its substantial advantages, and thus rendering the governments of Greece his instruments for working out that mighty plan of universal conquest, which was fully carried into effect under his son and successor, Alexander the Great.

The steps by which this object was gradually attained, will be fully developed in the orations themselves: at present, therefore, our remarks will be confined to the circumstances by which he was

brought into collision with Athens at the commencement of his reign. On his return from a nine years' sojourn at Thebes, PHILIP, third son of Amyntas, king of Macedonia, assumed the regency as guardian of his nephew, the son of his deceased brother, Perdiccas. At this period the resources of the Macedonian government were well-nigh exhausted, its troops disheartened by a series of defeats, and its frontier threatened by the Pæonians, Illyrians, and Thracians. Nothing could be more gloomy than the prospect before him; but Philip was of an age when men rarely despond: the examples of Jason of Pheræ and Epaminondas had probably roused his youthful ambition, and the intimate knowledge of Grecian politics, acquired during his residence at Thebes, had suggested hopes which were never afterwards abandoned during a reign of three-and-twenty years. Addressing himself at once to the danger which seemed the most imminent, Philip appeased the Pæonians by the payment of a sum of money, and compelled the Illyrians to retire within their own frontier. After this successful commencement, he seems at once to have assumed the reins of government on his own account, for we hear nothing further of his nephew. His first care was to secure his own frontier against foreign invasion, and then to gain for himself an advantageous position as regarded Greece: for the attainment of both these objects it would be necessary to extend his frontier to the sea; but this could only be done by obtaining a settlement on the Chalcidic peninsula and the Thracian Chersonese. His line of march lay through the city of Amphipolis, and here it was that he was first brought into collision with the Athenians.

AMPHIPOLIS, or as it was originally named, "the Nine Ways," was an Athenian settlement on both sides of the river Strymon, not far from the boundary line which separated Thrace from the Chalcidic peninsula. This district, from which the Athenians imported wood for ship-building, iron, and other commodities, fell into the hands of Brasidas, the Lacedæmonian general, in the eighth year of the Peloponnesian war. At the peace of Antalcidas (Ol. 98, 2) the right of Athens to the city was fully recognized, but the inhabitants seem to have been as little inclined as they had shown themselves on a former occasion¹ to submit to the government of the mother country. After a considerable lapse of time the Athenians sent out Iphicrates, whose hopes of receiving assistance from the third Perdiccas², in return for former benefits, were miserably disappointed. Meanwhile the Macedonians, who dreaded the vicinity of the Athenians as much as that of the Spartans, seem to have taken possession of the city themselves. Perdiccas having fallen in a war with the Illyrians, the Athenians supported Argæus in his contest with Pausanias for the vacant throne. Argæus and his allies were defeated by Philip (who had withdrawn the Macedonian garrison from Am-

¹ When the Lacedæmonians, after the death of Brasidas (Ol. 89, 2), proposed the restoration of the city to the Athenians. See Thucyd. v. 18 ad 21.

² Corn. Nepos, Vit. Iphicrat. l. 3: Eu-

rydice, mater Perdiccæ et Philippi, cum his duobus pueris, Amynta mortuo, ad Iphicratem confugit, ejusque opibus defensa est.

phipolis, and granted freedom to the city,) but the Athenian prisoners were treated with great kindness, fully recompensed for the losses which they had sustained, and sent back to their own country with many assurances of friendship³. In consequence of their favorable report, an embassy was sent out from Athens to Macedonia, the alliance which had formerly subsisted between Philip's father and the city was renewed, and, what at the time seemed more important than all, the claims of Macedonia to Amphipolis were abandoned. This occurred in the second year of the 105 Olympiad; but in the following year Philip, availing himself of some frivolous pretext, declared war against the Amphipolitans, attacked their city, and carried it by storm (Ol. 105, 3). Wishing, however, to justify his conduct to the Athenians, he pretended that all this had been done for their benefit, and in return for this acknowledgement received from them, it is said, a secret promise, that Athens would offer no impediment to the execution of his projects against Pydna on the Thermaic gulf. By the occupation of this city Philip obtained a most important position, which rendered him exceedingly formidable to Olynthus, a city situated on the opposite side of the gulf. This danger the inhabitants had long since foreseen, and had sought an alliance with Athens, which was prevented by the interference of Philip. The ambassadors sent by the Olynthians to Athens having been insulted, the wrathful feeling excited by their report of this indignity rendered their countrymen more accessible to the insidious proposals of the king of Macedonia, who promised to secure to them the possession of Pydna and Potidæa, both of which cities had formerly belonged to Olynthus. Thus at the very commencement of his career Philip succeeded in tranquillizing those from whom he most dreaded opposition; and whilst he was secretly undermining the foundations of their freedom, either reduced them to the condition of inactive spectators, or availed himself of their assistance for the execution of his plans. Having thus tranquillized Olynthus, Philip proceeded in the next place to lay siege to Crenidæa, a city founded by the Thracians, and the key of the gold-mines in that part of Thrace. The possession of this fortress (which, after its capture was named Philippi, in honour of the conqueror) enabled Philip to work the mines with great success. The acquisition of this source of wealth may in fact be considered the foundation of his power, not only over the nations in the immediate neighbourhood of the mines, but throughout the whole of Greece. Soon afterwards we find him entering Thessaly on the invitation of certain nobles, who had been oppressed by the tyrants of Pheræ. For some unexplained reason the tyrants were permitted to remain, but the arms of Philip had opened for him a road into this land of confusion and civil discord, which was never afterwards closed. Athens was at this time engaged in a war with the islands, which terminated somewhat ingloriously in Ol. 106, 2, and was almost immediately succeeded by the so-called Holy War in Phocis; an insane struggle, which ex-

³ Demosth. Orat. c. Aristocr.

hausted the resources of Thebes and other Grecian states, whilst Philip, against whom their arms ought to have been directed, was extending his frontier in more than one direction, almost without opposition. But even he was at last compelled to take part in the war. The Phocian leaders had repeatedly afforded assistance to the tyrants of Phœræ, and on each occasion Philip had been called in by the opposite party. After a long struggle his efforts were at last crowned with complete success, and his influence in Thessaly was more firmly established than ever. Under pretence of chastising the sacrilegious robbers in their own den, Philip (on the invitation perhaps of the Thebans) now advanced into Greece (Ol. 107, 1), but the pass of Thermopylæ being occupied by Athenian troops⁴, he was compelled to retrace his steps. The momentary panic occasioned by this invasion was soon forgotten by the thoughtless ochlocracy of Athens, who flattered themselves, in their ignorance of Macedonia and its resources, that Philip, after receiving so decided a check, would abandon for ever the idea of attacking the free Greek on his own soil. Completely occupied with the embellishment of his capital, he had drowned, so ran the tale, his projects of ambition in the wine-cup. The Athenians, therefore, thought that they had done all that was necessary when they despatched an insignificant force, commanded by a foreigner, to guard their frontier.

Whilst the remembrance of this attempt was yet fresh, in the first year of the 107 Olympiad, in the eighth year of the reign of the son of Amyntas, Demosthenes, as we are informed by Dionysius⁵, delivered his first Philippic oration, the immediate occasion and results of which are equally unknown.

The commencement of the speech shows, that the Athenians were already beginning to discover in the policy of Philip hostile designs, which were but thinly covered by his protestations of friendship. These views were not new perhaps; but the majority had wilfully closed their eyes to the danger, until the rapid advance of the king compelled them to adopt decisive measures. Several plans seem to have been proposed, none of which satisfied our orator. He wanted at the same time less and more than others; but what he desired above all things, was the adoption of that very course to which his volatile and careless countrymen were sure to offer the most vexatious opposition. Nothing, indeed, can be more moderate than his requisitions. He himself admits the insignificance of the measures proposed; but as they are sufficient under present circumstances, he expresses a hope that they may, if carried out with vigour and perseverance, gradually bring about a better state of things. The main object of the orator is to establish this proposition, on which all his arguments are founded. He reminds his countrymen, that success depends on the carrying into effect, steadily and perseveringly, resolutions adapted to present circumstances, rather than the adoption of more brilliant, but less practicable, measures. With this view

⁴ Diodor. xvi. 35—38.

⁵ Epistol. ad Ammœ. c. 4. vi. p. 725.

he recalls to their recollection instances of undertakings, in which success was purely the result of perseverance; and condemns the reckless facility with which they were wont to cherish visionary hopes. He describes the evils which had resulted from the employment of mercenary troops, and calls on them to bear arms themselves, as in the olden time. If they wished to bring back the ancient glory of Athens, they must first return to the practice of those virtues which were her noblest ornament; that public spirit which imparted vigour to every member of the state; that renunciation of all the comforts of life, and even of life itself; that noble emulation which led them to vie with one another in offering their best and dearest on the altar of their country. The contemporaries of Demosthenes showed little inclination to follow this advice, reasonable as it was. As long as the storm was yet at a distance, they indulged the hope that it might blow over without any effort on their part; and so, instead of winning glory for themselves, they contented themselves with prating unceasingly about the glory of their ancestors. We may, therefore, fairly conclude that the arguments of the orator produced scarcely any result. The error of Demosthenes was twofold: he was mistaken in supposing that any eloquence of his could at once breathe life into the collapsed members of the Athenian body politic; and still more was he mistaken, when, in his ignorance of Philip's resources, he ventured to attribute the previous successes of that powerful monarch to the negligence and inactivity of Athens.

Before we examine the oration itself, it may be as well to inquire whether it was originally delivered in its present form, or whether it may not be a combination of two speeches pronounced at different times.

This question has arisen in consequence of an attempt made by Dionysius, in his letter to Ammaeus, to put an end to a certain literary controversy, by arranging the orations of Demosthenes in regular chronological order. This writer takes the words, "This, O Athenians, is what we have been able to make out," which in the MSS. immediately follow the exposition of ways and means, to be the commencement of a distinct oration, which he places, as regards the time of its delivery, between the third Olynthiac and the Oration concerning the Peace⁶.

Having myself revived this controversy six-and-twenty years ago, I considered it my duty to lay before my readers the opinion of the English critic, Leland (who had pronounced in favour of the separation), with the arguments against and in favour of his theory. Since

⁶ Callimachus, in whose archonship (Ol. 107, 4) the Athenians, by the advice of Demosthenes, sent aid to Olynthus, was succeeded by Theophilus (Ol. 108, 1), and he by Themistocles (Ol. 108, 2), under whom Demosthenes delivered his sixth Philippic, concerning the protection of the islanders and the cities of the Hellespont, which begins with the

words, "This, O Athenians." Instead of the sixth, it should be called the fifth, only four orations having been previously noticed. Dionysius adds two more, and calls the second of them the seventh. There is evidently in this passage a mistake, either of the author or the transcriber.

Α οὐ νῦν· οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχεθ' ὑμεῖς οὔτε πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα οὔτε πρὸς τᾶλλα, ἀλλὰ πῶς; εἶπω; κελεύετε καὶ αὐτὰς ὀργιεῖσθε;

9 Ἔστι τοίνυν τις εὐήθης λόγος παρὰ τῶν παραμυθεῖσθαι βουλομένων τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἄρα οὐπω Φίλιππος ἐστὶν οἷοι ποτ' ἦσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οἱ θαλάττης μὲν ἦρχον καὶ γῆς ἀπάσης, βασιλεία δὲ σύμμαχον εἶχον, ὑφίστατο δ' οὐδὲν αὐτούς· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἡμύνατο ἀκείνους ἡ πόλις καὶ οὐκ ἀνηρπάσθη. Ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπάντων ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν πολλὴν εἰληφόντων ἐπίδοσιν, καὶ οὐδὲν ὁμοίων ὄντων τῶν νῦν τοῖς πρότερον, οὐδὲν ἡγοῦμαι
B πλέον ἢ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου κεκινῆσθαι καὶ ἐπιδεδωκέναι. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀκούω Λακεδαιμονίους τότε καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους τέτταρας μῆνας ἢ πέντε, τὴν ὠραίαν αὐτήν, ἐμβαλόντας ἂν καὶ κακώσαντας τὴν χώραν ὑπλίταις καὶ πολιτικοῖς στρατεύμασιν ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπ' οἶκον πόλιν· οὕτω δ' ἀρχαίως εἶχον, μᾶλλον δὲ πολιτικῶς, ὥστε οὐδὲ χρημάτων ὠνεῖσθαι παρ' οὐδενὸς οὐδέν, ἀλλ' εἶναι νόμιμόν τινα καὶ προφανῆ τὸν πόλεμον. Νυνὶ δ' ὁρᾶτε μὲν δῆπου τὰ πλείστα τοὺς προδότας ἀπολωλεκότας, οὐδὲν δ' ἐκ παρατάξεως οὐδὲ μάχης γιγνόμενον· ἀκούετε δὲ Φίλιππον οὐχὶ τῷ φάλαγγα ὀπλιτῶν ἀγειν
C βαδίζονθ' ὅποι βούλεται, ἀλλὰ τῷ ψιλοῦς, ἱππέας, τοξότας, ξένους, τοιοῦτον ἐξηρτῆσθαι στρατόπεδον. Ἐπειδὴν δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις πρὸς νοσοῦντας ἐν αὐτοῖς προσπέσῃ καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας δι' ἀπιστίαν ἐξίη, μηχανήματ' ἐπιστήσας πολιορκεῖ. Καὶ σιωπῶ θέρος καὶ χειμῶνα, ὡς οὐδὲν διαφέρει, οὐδ' ἐστὶν ἐξαιρετος ὥρα τις, ἣν διαλείπει. Ταῦτα μέντοι πάντας εἰδόντας καὶ λογιζομένους οὐ δεῖ προσέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον εἰς τὴν χώραν, οὐδ' εἰς τὴν εὐήθειαν τὴν τοῦ τότε πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πόλεμον βλέποντας ἐκτραχηλισθῆναι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκ πλείστου φυλάττεσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, ὅπως
D οἴκοθεν μὴ κινήσεται σκοποῦντας, οὐχὶ συμπλακέντας διαγωνίζεσθαι. Πρὸς μὲν γὰρ πόλεμον πολλὰ φύσει πλεονεκτήμαθ' ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει, ἂν περ ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι ποιεῖν ἐθέλωμεν ἃ δεῖ, ἢ φύσις τῆς ἐκείνου χώρας, ἥς ἀγειν καὶ φέρειν ἐστι πολλὴν καὶ κακῶς ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ μυρία· εἰς δὲ ἀγῶνα ἄμεινον ἡμῶν ἐκεῖνος ἦσκηται.

10 Οὐ μόνον δὲ δεῖ ταῦτα γινώσκειν, οὐδὲ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐκείνον ἀμύνεσθαι τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ τοὺς παρ' ἡμῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λέγοντας μισῆσαι, ἐνθυμονμένους ὅτι οὐκ ἔνεστι τῶν τῆς πόλεως ἐχθρῶν κρατῆσαι, πρὶν ἂν τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει κολάσῃτε ὑπηρετοῦντας ἐκεί-

νοις. Ὁ μὰ τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς οὐ δυνήσεσθε **Α**
 ὑμεῖς ποιῆσαι, ἀλλ' εἰς τοῦτο ἀφίχθε μωρίας ἢ παρανοίας ἢ
 οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω (πολλάκις γὰρ ἔμοιγ' ἐπελήλυθε καὶ τοῦτο
 φοβείσθαι, μή τι δαιμόνιον τὰ πράγματα ἐλαύνῃ), ὥστε ἰοι-
 δορίας φθόνου σκώμματος, ἧς τινος ἂν τύχητε ἕνεκ' αἰτίας,
 ἀνθρώπους μισθωτοὺς, ὧν οὐδ' ἂν ἀρνηθεῖεν ἔνιοι ὡς οὐκ
 εἰσὶ τοιοῦτοι, λέγειν κελεύετε, καὶ γελᾶτε, ἂν τισι λιοδορη-
 θῶσιν. Καὶ οὐχὶ πω τοῦτο δεινόν, καίπερ ὃν δεινόν· ἀλλὰ
 καὶ μετὰ πλείονος ἀσφαλείας πολιτεύεσθαι δεδοκαστο τούτοις
 ἢ τοῖς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν λέγουσιν. Καίτοι θεάσασθε ὅσας συμφορὰς
 παρασκευάζει τὸ τῶν τοιούτων ἐθελεῖν ἀκροᾶσθαι. Λέξω δ' **Β**
 ἔργα ἃ πάντες εἴσεσθε.

Ἦσαν ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ τῶν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι τινὲς μὲν Φιλίπ- **11**
 πον καὶ πάνθ' ὑπηρετοῦντες ἐκείνῳ, τινὲς δὲ οἱ τοῦ βελτίστου
 καὶ ὅπως μὴ δουλεύουσιν οἱ πολῖται πράττοντες. Πότεροι
 δὴ τὴν πατρίδα ἐξώλεσαν; ἢ πότεροι τοὺς ἱππείας προῦδοσαν,
 ὧν προδοθέντων Ὀλυνθος ἀπώλετο; οἱ τὰ Φιλίππου φρο-
 νοῦντες καὶ ὅτ' ἦν ἡ πόλις τοὺς τὰ βέλτιστα λέγοντας συκο-
 φαντοῦντες καὶ διαβάλλοντες οὕτως, ὥστε τὸν γ' Ἀπολλωνί-
 ον καὶ ἐκβαλεῖν ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων ἐπέισθη.

Οὐ τοίνυν παρὰ τούτοις μόνον τὸ ἔθος τοῦτο πάντα κακὰ **12**
 εἰργάσατο, ἀλλοθι δ' οὐδαμοῦ· ἀλλ' ἐν Ἐρετρίᾳ, ἐπειδὴ ἀπαλ- **α**
 λαγέντος Πλουτάρχου καὶ τῶν ξένων ὁ δῆμος εἶχε τὴν πόλιν
 καὶ τὸν Πορθμόν, οἱ μὲν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἦγον τὰ πράγματα, οἱ δ'
 ἐπὶ Φιλίππον. Ἀκούοντες δὲ τούτων τὰ πολλὰ μᾶλλον οἱ
 ταλαίπωροι καὶ δυστυχεῖς Ἐρετριεῖς τελευτῶντες ἐπέισθησαν
 τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λέγοντας ἐκβαλεῖν. Καὶ γὰρ τοι πέμψας
 Ἰκπόνικον σύμμαχος αὐτοῖς Φίλιππος καὶ ξένους χιλίους, τὰ
 τείχη περιεῖλε τοῦ Πορθμοῦ καὶ τρεῖς κατέστησε τυράννους,
 Ἰκπαρχον, Αὐτομέδοντα, Κλείταρχον· καὶ μετὰ ταῦν ἐξελέ-
 λακεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας δις ἡδὴ βουλομένους σώζεσθαι.

Καὶ τί δεῖ τὰ πολλὰ λέγειν; ἀλλ' ἐν Ὁρεῶ Φιλισιτίδης μὲν **13**
 ἔπραττε Φιλίππῳ καὶ Μένιπκῳ καὶ Σωκράτῃ καὶ Θόας καὶ **α**
 Ἀγαπαῖος, οἵπερ νῦν ἔχουσι τὴν πόλιν· καὶ ταῦτ' ἤδεσαν
 ἅπαντες· Εὐφραῖος δὲ τις, ἀνθρωπος καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ποτ'
 ἐνθάδε οικήσας, ὅπως ἐλεύθεροι καὶ μηδενὸς δοῦλοι ἔσονται.
 Οὗτος τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὡς ὑβρίζετο καὶ προεπηλακίζετο ὑπὸ τοῦ
 δήμου, πολλὰ ἂν εἴη λέγειν· ἐνιαυτῷ δὲ πρότερον τῆς ἀλώ-
 σεως ἐνέδειξεν ὡς προδότην τὸν Φιλισιτίδην καὶ τοὺς μετ'
 αὐτοῦ, αἰσθόμενος ἃ πράττουσιν. Συστραφέντες δὲ ἀνθρω-
 ποι πολλοὶ καὶ χορηγὸν ἔχοντες Φίλιππον καὶ πρυτανεύόμενοι,

NOTES

TO THE

FIRST PHILIPPIC.

EXPLANATION OF MARKS, &c.

K. = Krüger.

F. = Franke.

V. = Vömel.

B. = Bremi.

JN. = join the words in the following order, in construing the passage.

R. = Rüdiger.

Rsk. = Reiske.

Sch. = Schaefer.

Sp. = Sauppe.

The numbers to which § is prefixed, refer to Mr. Jelf's edition of Kühner; the rest to my Grammars; those enclosed in parenthetical marks being to the *smaller* Grammar.

PAGE 1, § 1. [§ 1, p. 40.]

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ei—προβιθῆτο, if it were proposed = if it had been proposed. *K.* originally preferred *προβειρο*, though allowing that the Greek *imperfect* is used in the conditional clause in the sense of a *pluperfect*, if the action or state described be *continued* or *repeated*: *Sp.* observes that this is the case here, for the Prytanes might be considered as *continually* inviting the orators to speak on the proposed subject, from the time of the first proclamation, *τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται*; till the final passing and drawing up of the decree. || *ἐπισχὼν ἄν—ἄν ἦγον*, Gr. 1448, b. Pr. Intr. ii. 94. § 429, obs. 1. The first *ἄν* has a very natural position here, for the sentence may be resolved into *ἐπίσχον ἄν . . . (καὶ) ἦγον ἄν*. || *ἕως—ἀπεφάναντο, till they had decreed.* On the indic. cf. Gr. 1266. *ἡδῆως ἄν Καλλικλεί τοῦτω διαλεγόμεν ἕως αὐτῷ . . . ἀπέδωκα (usque dum reddidissem)*, Pl. Gorg. 506, b.—*ἀποφαίνεσθαι γνώμην* is the usual formula, not *τὴν γνώμην*, e. g. Xen. An. 1, 6, 9 (with *K.*'s note): *ὕμῶν δὲ σὺ πρῶτον Κλέαρχε ἀπόφηναι γνώμην ὃ τί σοι δοκεῖ*. || *τῶν εὐθεόταν*, sc. *γνώμην ἀποφάνασθαι*. || *ἄν συγγνώμης τυγχάνειν*. “In the gene-

ral assemblies, those citizens who had completed their fiftieth year (P. were, conformably with an ordinance of Solon, first called on to deliver their opinion. The law itself had, it is true, long since become inoperative; but as a decent custom, it was usual for the older men to speak first, although even this regulation was not unfrequently disregarded. See *Æschin. Orat. c. Ctesiphon*. Even Demosthenes considers himself excused from the observance of it, when a subject, which has been frequently, but in his opinion unsatisfactorily discussed, is brought before the assembly for reconsideration. In the same way Isocrates makes Archidāmus commence his speech with an apology for coming forward to give them advice on a subject, the discussion of which had been avoided by his seniors. 'If,' he goes on to say, 'any one of those who are in the habit of addressing you, had spoken as he ought to have done, I should have remained silent; but now, when I plainly perceive that the one party are actually giving support to our enemies, whilst the others but feebly oppose them, and that some of your orators are silenced altogether, I consider myself justified in coming forward to make known my sentiments.' (*Isocrat. Archid.*) For the whole question see Schömann de Comitibus Atheniens. c. x." *J.* || *ἀν . . . ἄν.* Gr. 791 (632) § 858, 3, obs. 3. According to Hermann's rule (*Pr. Intr. ii. 113*) the *ἀν* is added here, because the implied opposite is true (*νὺν δὲ δαί*). See below, note on *ἐχρῆν*, § 5.

§ 2. [§ 2—12, p. 40.]

οὐκ ἀθυμητέον. Gr. 925 (736, a) § 667. "Demosthenes does not dwell on the condition of Athens, because a more detailed description would have rather depressed than revived their courage. This passage has been instanced by an ancient rhetorician (*Hermogenes περὶ δεινότη.*) as the expression of an unexpected, profound, and forcible idea." *J.* || *Ἰν. δ ἀπ' αὐτῶν*, and cf. 38, 25, *δ μὲν χρήσιμον τῇ πόλει τοῦ πράγματός ἐστιν*. Cf. 2, 20. || *ἐκ τοῦ παρ. χρόνου* is not exactly equivalent to *ἐν παρεληλυθότι χρόνῳ*, but denotes motion and continuance from the point of commencement, through the intermediate space, up to the present. So *περὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου κριθέντων*. Dem. in Timocr. 90. *F.* || *ὅτι οὐδὲν*, κ.τ.λ. "Est sibi ipsi responsio. Cic. de Or. 3, 54, 207." *F.* || *ποιούντων*, to be resolved causally. || *οὐδ' ἂν ἐλπὶς ἦν*, (*there would have been no hope*), the *ἀν* inserted because the opposite is the real state of things, *νὺν δ' ἐλπὶς ἐστίν*. || *γενέσθαι*, without *ἀν*. Gr. 1087 (830) § 406, obs. 2. || *ἔπειτα*, and then, and secondly. Usually (like *εἰτα*) without *δε* in Dem. || *ἐνθυμητέον*, sc. *ὑμῖν*. *αὐτοῖς* is of course to be connected with *εἰδόσιν*, not with *ἀναμνησκομένους*. "Orator sic inoeipit, ac si vñ. τοῖς εἰδόσιν αὐτοῖς omnino non subjecturus esset. Concinnitatem si sectatus esset, sic fere loqui debebat: ἐνθυμητέον τοῖς μὲν νεωτέροις κατ' ἄλλων ἀκούουσι, τοῖς δ' εἰδόσιν αὐτοῖς (i. e. τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις) ἀναμνησκομένους." *K.* "Isocr. 8, 12: θαυμάζω δὲ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, εἰ μηκέτι μνημονεύουσι, καὶ τῶν νεωτέρων, εἰ μηδεὶς ἀνηκέδασιν." *Spr.* || *ἀκούω* = *I have heard*. Gr. 766, 9 (614, d) § 396.

PAGE 2.

(P. ἥλικην—ὡς καλῶς. "*Quanta potentia instructis Lacedæmoniis* 2). *quam pulchre cett.*" K. Two relative or interrogative clauses are very frequently dpt in Greek on the same verb or participle. Cf. § 36, 2, 25, 19, 61: ἴν' εἰδῆτε οἷων ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῖς παρ' ὑμῶν οἷων ἔνυχον. Ib. 63: σκοπεῖτε, τί πιστεύσαντες τί ἐπαθον. 23, 107: οἱ τί πεποιηκότος αὐτοῖς Φιλίππου πῶς αὐτῷ χρῶνται; and cf. Cic. Offic. 2, 19, 67: *sed tamen videmus, quibus extinctis oratoribus quam in paucis spes, quanto in paucioribus facultas, quam in multis sit audacia.* Kritze ad Sall. Cat. 47, 1. F. || ἐξ οὗ χρ. οὐ π., sc. ἐστίν, sc. no long time ago. The verb is usually omitted in this formula, but not always. Isocr. 5, 47: οὗτοι γὰρ ἀρχοντες τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐ πολλὸς χρόνος ἐξ οὗ καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν εἰς τοσαύτην μεταβολὴν ἦλθον. Addito verbo substantivo, 49, 67: οὕτω τοίνυν πολλὸς χρόνος ἐστίν ἐξ ὅτου—διωμόσατο. F. || προσηκόντως, i. e. with reference to your general advocacy and defence of the rights of Greece. || ἴν' εἰδῆτε . . . καὶ θεάσθηθε. "Tenendum est ἴν' εἰδῆτε hic esse: ut cognoscatis. Cf. xviii. 118, p. 266, § 153, p. 278, § 156, p. 279: ὅδε δὴ μοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν —, ἴν' εἰδῆτε καὶ ἐκ ταύτης σαφῶς, κ.τ.λ. Tantum abest ut in ista verborum collocatione offensionis aliquid insit, ut eam egregie commendat κλίμαξ. Nam θεᾶσθαι evidentiorē cognitionem significat rem quasi oculis subiciens. Plane eadem ratio est eorum aliquot locorum quos Br. contulit, quibus, ut x. 7, p. 133, prætereamus, hos adjiciamus: εἰδὼς καὶ ἑωρακώς, xviii. 248, p. 309: σκίψασθε—καὶ θεωρήσατε, § 252, p. 311: ἐγνώκειν καὶ προεωρώμην, xix. 154, p. 389: ἐξετάσαι καὶ θεάσασθαι, 315, p. 442: ἐνθυμίσθαι καὶ ὁρᾶν, xx. 118, p. 492." K. || τῇ τότε βῶμῃ. "After the battle of Ægospotamos, so ruinous in its immediate consequences to Athens, the Lacedæmonians began to draw down upon themselves the hatred of Greece, by the arrogance they displayed in the day of their triumph. The Corinthian war, in which Athens took the principal part, was kindled by a slight encouragement from the Persian king, whom Agesilaus was now distressing in his own dominions (Ol. 96, 2). Conon's victory over the Lacedæmonian fleet at Cnidos humbled their pride in some degree, and lightened the yoke which they were attempting to impose upon his country, and the other Grecian states. The naval power of Athens was resuscitated by this victory, but Sparta still possessed an overwhelming influence, which was consolidated afresh by the peace of Antalcidas (Ol. 98, 2). The results were soon apparent. Whilst Sparta was successfully carrying some of her ambitious projects into execution, and cautiously laying the foundation of others, the occupation of the citadel of Thebes, in direct contravention of international law, but too plainly manifested that her policy was still unchanged. The consequence of this act of aggression was a war (Ol. 100, 2), in which a great number of cities ranged themselves under the banners of Athens, and completely overthrew the Spartans off Naxos (Ol. 101, 1). As the peace, which was soon afterwards concluded (Ol. 102, 2), through the mediation

of the king of Persia, secured their freedom to the cities of Greece¹, (P. Demosthenes might fairly adduce these efforts of his countrymen as proofs of their love of justice and disinterested anxiety for the liberties and rights of the Hellenic nation. The people to whom the possession of such virtues as these was ascribed, might bear the unpalatable truths enunciated by their orators for the purpose of rousing them from their torpor." J. || *τούτου*, of this man, sc. Philip. As examples of the demonstr. *without* the art. after a substantive with it, F. quotes 21, 80 : τὰ μὲν δὴ τότε ὑβρίσματα τούτων. 44, 17 : ὁ δὲ Μειδουλίδης ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ πάππος δὲ τούτῳ. 52, 2 : εὐκ ἐλάττω ἢ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἀσίλγιμά ἐστι τούτῳ, κ.τ.λ.

τὸ τε πλῆθος. In the preceding year, in his war against Onomarchus in Thessaly, he assembled an army of 20,000 foot-soldiers, and 3000 of Thessalian cavalry; and built a fleet besides. V. || μὲν—μέντοι. Gr. 1479, end; and 1480, 2. || καὶ πάντα τὸν—κύκλῳ, "and had all that region around subject to us," i. e. that part of Macedonia around the Thermaic gulf. κύκλῳ is placed last, to give a stronger rhetorical accentuation to οἰκίῳ. F.—"The conquest of Pydna and Potidæa has been mentioned in the Introduction. Methônê, in Bottia, was taken by Philip (Ol. 106, 4) whilst the Athenians were busied with the occupation of the Chersonese and the Phocian war. It was at the siege of this city that Philip lost one of his eyes¹." J. || οἰκίῳ. J. n. οἰκίῳ εἶχον. || τῶν μετ' ἐκ. νῦν ἔστ., "Illyriorum, Pæonum, Thessalorum. Nam μετὰ τινος εἶναι, non raro dicuntur, qui alicujus imperio subjecti sunt. Cf. § 8." K. || *κεῖν* = *κεῖν*. The Ionic form *κεῖνος* (according to Sp.) is never found in Plato, Isocrates, Demosthenes, i. e. in those writers of Attic prose for whose works the best or most carefully collated MSS. have been consulted.—"This seems to be an allusion to Olynthus and the confederate cities of the Chalcidic peninsula. That Olynthus sought the friendship of Athens, and that Philip was able to prevent this alliance by means of his friends, and by dint of secret promises, we are told by Demosthenes, Olynth. ii. We are also reminded of the Thessalians (whose country was distracted by faction) and of the Thracians." J. || ταύτην ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην. "The orator gives an unexpected turn to the sentence, when about (as it would seem) to describe the disadvantages of their position. Shall the Athenians ally in that, which Philip, under such unfavorable circumstances, was able to accomplish?" J. || ἐπιτειχίσματα, i. q. ὀρηγήματα (19, 219, coll. 8, 66), fortresses of attack, e. g. such as Deodæa was in Attica; fortresses from which an enemy could sally forth at any time to lay a country waste. "Genitivus τῆς χώρας objectivus est, ut 15, 12 : ἡγεῖσθαι τὴν νῆσον ταύτην (Rhodum), ὅπερ ἴστιν, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἂν εἶναι βασιλεῖ χρησίμην ἐν τῷ παρόντι, τῆς δ' αὐτῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπιτειχίσμα πρὸς τὸ μὴδ' ὅτιωτ' παρακινεῖν. Idem et ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ χώραν, ut 18, 71, et τῇ αὐτοῦ χώρῃ, ut Thuc. 1, 122, 1, dici potuit." F.

ἐκτῆσθαι, sc. ἂν, to be borrowed from the preceding *περιόλυσεν*, c

¹ Diodor. xv. 50, 51.

² Diodor. xvi. 34.

(P. Gr. 1448, a. § 432, obs. 2. || εἶδεν, *pulchre vidit* (K.), *intellexit* (F.).
 2.) || ὅθλα τοῦ πολλοῦ καίμενα ἐν μέσῳ. Why the notion to be proposed was expressed in Greek by κείσθαι in the case of prizes, see Hom. Il. 18, 507; 23, 273, coll. 259. Sp. Cf. 2, 28. Xen. Anab. 3, 1, 21: ἐν μέσῳ γὰρ ἤδη κείται ταῦτα τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἄθλα, ὁπότεροι δὲ ἡμῶν ἄνδρες ἀμείνονες ὦσιν. F. || τῶν ἀπόντων must not be referred to the distant *site* of the places referred to. As K. observes, Dem. is his own best expositor: τοῦ ἐφ' ἅπασι παρόντος τῷ στρατεύματι φύσει ὑπάρχει τὰ τῶν ἀπηρηγμένων καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς καὶ ταῖς γνώμας. F. || γὰρ τοι, *denim, profecto*. F. || χρησάμενος, "*quod usus est* (*quod ita sensit*, sc. jam prius quam omnia subigeret), *χρῶμενος quod utebatur* (sc. dum subigebat)." F. || τὰ 34, especially the Thessalians and Olynthians (Ol. 105, 4). || καὶ γὰρ—καί, *nam et—et*, Gr. 1476, t. 2 (1053, h). || καὶ προσέχιν τὸν νοῦν τοῦτοις ὅθλοισιν πάντες, an hexameter verse. Jacobs reproduces it, he says accidentally, in his German translation: *Denn es wollen sich Alle mit dem verbinden und einem*.—προσέχιν τὸν νοῦν = προσέχιν τὴν γνώμην πρὸς τινα, *animum advertere alicui, quem ducem et auctorem sequaris* (Kr. in Ind. ad Xen. Anab. γνώμη).

D ἐπὶ—γενέσθαι γνώμης, *si eos quaque talem, quali Philippum usum dixi, sentiendi rationem pectore amplexi fueritis*, K., who compares viii. 14, p. 93: μένειν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀνοίας, et xxi. 199, p. 578: ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς ὑπερφηφίας ὄντα. 'Επὶ γνώμης εἶναι (*firmiter adherere huic rationi*), xxi. 213, p. 583. Dionys. Arch. iv. 70, p. 809; vi. 38, p. 1126. K. || ἐπειδὴ περ, "*quoniam, quandoquidem, de causis certa et indubitata et ab audientibus concessa*." F. [Gr. 1424, a. 1 (1031, a. 1) § 633, c.] || πρέττειν = *to act*, in the same absolute sense as our verb. || συνελόντι δ' ἐπλῶς, sc. μετὰ παρήρσιος καὶ μηδὲν ὑποστυλάμενος. F. Cf. § 51: πανθ' ἀπλῶς οὐδὲν ὑποστυλάμενος πεπαρήρσιασμαι. K. || ἑμῶν αὐτῶν—γενέσθαι = *to acquire the habit of self-reliance; to depend upon yourselves*. The pupil must observe that γενέσθαι denotes, not the arriving at the state (γίγνεσθαι), but the state itself (i. e. *to have become your own*; not to depend upon the will of another), *e vobismet ipsis, non ex aliis pendere*. Sch. [+ not *sui juris fieri*, Matth. § 371]. He alludes to the general prevalence of that idle and ruinous expectation, that they would be saved by others, even if they did not stir hand or foot to protect themselves. || κομείσθε, *recuperabitis*. R. || τὰ κατεῖργεσθαι, *what you have idled away; what you have lost by your indolence*. || πάλιν ἀναλήψισθε = *rursus recipietis*. F. Cf. Xen. Hell. 5, 4, 63: πάλιν αὐτὰς [τὰς πόλεις] ἀνελάμβανον. V.

PAGE 3. [§ 8—13 mid.]

A πρᾶγματα = *res, potentiam, imperium*. ἀθάνατα is *proleptio* = *ut aeterna sint*. Gr. 643 (523) § 439, 2. || τις = *many a one*: i. e. one is taken as an instance, it being implied that there are many like-minded. He alludes, probably, to the Illyrians, Paeonians, and, perhaps, Thessalians. F. K. warns us against supposing that different classes or bodies of men are represented as entertaining dif-

ferent hostile sentiments. Doubtless the same persons both *hated* and (P. *fear*ed, &c. || *ὅσα περ καὶ—ταῦτα πάν.* Cf. 21, 1: *ἐγὼ δ' ὅπερ ἀν 3*). *καὶ ἑμῶν ἕκαστος—προεἶλετο, τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸς ἐποίησα.* F. Gr. 1476, k. § 761. || *πάντα ταῦτα*, with ref. to *περὶ αὐτοῦ*, 1, 22. Cf. Xen. Econ. 6, 13: *τούς μὲν γὰρ ἀγαθοὺς τίετοντας, χαλκίας ἀγαθοὺς, ζωγράφους ἀγαθοὺς, ἀνδριαντοποιοὺς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ τοιαῦτα.* F. || *ἀποστροφὴν*, i. e. *καταφυγὴν, refugium.* *εἴτα δὲ καὶ ἀποστροφὴ γίνοντο, εἰ τις βούλειτο βασιλεία κακῶς ποιεῖν*, Xen. An. 2, 4, 22. || *οἱ—ἀσελγείας, quo petulantia.* Cf. 21, 17: *οὐδ' ἐνταῦθ' ἴστη γῆς ὕβριως.* 23, 156: *αἰσθόμενος δ' οὐ ἦν κακοῦ.* F. || *λέγων ὑπερφάνους.* "It is very probable that Philip, on finding himself opposed at Thermopylae, as well as other places, indulged in threatening language against the Greeks. That Demosthenes should represent this as the effect of overweening arrogance, was perfectly consistent with the object which he had in view, and in accordance probably with the sentiments of the Athenians, most of whom, previously to the battle of Chaeronea, had deemed it well-nigh incredible, that a state, which until that time had played so subordinate a part, should be raising itself into importance. In their eyes Macedonians were not only barbarians, but barbarians of the worst sort. 'One would not (says Demosth. Philipp. iii.) willingly have one of them even for a slave.' The contemptuous manner in which Demosthenes here, and in so many other passages of his orations, speaks of the king of Macedonia, sufficiently expresses his feeling on this point. That this contempt on the one side, and anxious desire on the other to be recognized as Greeks, acted as a powerful stimulus to the Macedonians in Philip's time, has been well shown by Heyne in his essay on the rise and decline of the Macedonian power (Opusc. t. v. p. 163)." J.

μένειν ἐπὶ ταύταις is properly, as here, *to remain in this state of things*, *without endeavouring to advance any further*: hence, *to let things remain as they are*; or even *to be contented with the present sort*. So Dem. in Leoch. 1087, 11: *οὐδὲν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκινουμένων ἀλλ' ἐμένοντες ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν.* Xen. Ages. 1, 37: *ὅσον χρόνον ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔμεινε.* In Or. 18, 307, it is *μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων* = *to persevere in*.—*μένειν ἐπὶ τινι* = *insistere alicui*. R. Cf. n. on p. 2, D. "This apathy on their part was severely rebuked by Parmenio. Some Greeks, who were waiting in the royal antechamber, had presumed to ridicule the king's drowsiness. 'You need not wonder at his sleeping now,' retorted the Macedonian; 'whilst you slept he was wakeful enough.' Plutarch, t. ii." J. || *προσπεριβῆ, insuper sibi assumit a. aspersit* (F.), lit. *is casting around him for more.* || *κύκλω πανταχῇ, circum undique.* Xen. An. 3, 1, 2: *κύκλω δ' αὐτοῖς πάντη πολλὰ καὶ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις πολέμιοι ἦσαν.* F. || *περιστοιχίζεται, incloses in a net: indagine cingit, circumrexit* (Cic. Verr. 5, 58, 150), F.: *a hunting term.* Κατὰ τὰς ἐκδρομὰς τῶν θηρίων ὁρθὰ ξύλα ἰσθᾶσι (οἱ κυνηγίται), ἃ καλοῦσι στήχους ἢ στοίχους, κατακίταν-νόντες αὐτῶν δίκτυα, ἢ τὰν αὐτοὺς ἐκφυγῶν τὰ θηρία εἰς τὰ δίκτυα ἐμπέσθ, *Harpoer.* || *πότε οὖν, πότε, when then, when will you?* Dem. is very fond of this nervous repetition of a word. || *ἐπεὶ δὲν τὸ γένηται*; lit. *when what has happened?* i. e. *what must happen before*

(P. you will act with vigour! Cf. Plat. Alcib. 1, 8, 6, p. 107 : *δραν οὖν* 3). *περι τίνος βουλευονται (ἀναστήσει αὐτοῖς συμβουλευσων)*. 18, 209 : *ἐμὲ δὲ—τὸ τίνος φρόνημα λάβοντ' ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἴδει*; Cf. below, § 20, 34. Liv. 44, 39 : *sine ulla sede vagi dimissus, ut quo nos victores reciperemus?* K. || *ἐπειδὴν*, κ.τ.λ., “formula *νῆ Δία* cum Demosthenes hac ratione, ubi *sibi* vel *responderi* aliquid vel *objici* fingit, uti soleat cum ironia quadam, recte Bekkerns post *ῥ* interrogandi signum puncto permutavit.” K. || *νῦν* 84: then now what are we to consider the events that are taking place to be [if not an *ἀνάγκη*, a case of extreme and urgent necessity]? F. observes that the *νῦν*, which properly relates to *γινόμενα*, is placed at the head of the sentence to mark emphatically the *now* as opposed to the expected future state. || *ἐγὼ μὲν*. This *ἐγὼ μὲν*, without a following *δέ*, is very common in Dem. K.—*μὲν*, “ad omissam sententiam (*quid alii existiment, non curo*) relatum est.” F.—On *ἀνέ μοι* in the sing., cf. Gr. 651 (635, d). || *περιμέντες*. This Athenian habit of going about, especially *κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν*, asking for news, is frequently alluded to contemptuously by Dem., e. g. 19, 288 : *πρότερον μὲν γάρ, τί παρ' ὑμῖν ἐψήφισται, τοῦτ' ἐπετήρουν οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες Ἕλληνες νῦν δ' ἡδη περιερχόμεθ' ἡμεῖς, τί δίδοται τοῖς ἄλλοις, σκοποῦντες, καὶ ὠτακουστοῦντες, τί τὰ τῶν Ἀρκάδων, τί τὰ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, ποῖ πάρεσι Φιλίππος, ᾧ ἢ τίθνηκεν*; F. || *αὐτῶν*, i. e. *ἀλλήλων* [Gr. 1009 (791) § 654, 2]. Cf. 9, 21. 58, 20. *προσῆκει τοῖς ἀντιδικοῦς, ὅπως ἂν αὐτοὺς πείθωσι, διοικεῖσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους*, coll. 59, 46 : *ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ἄλλως πῶς ἀλλήλους πείθωσι, ταῦτα κύρια εἶναι*. Cf. 39, 23. 40, 29. 48, 7. F. || *Μακεδὼν ἀνὴρ*, “contemptuously V. ad 3, 16.” F.

c *ἀλλ' ὁσθοναί*; “Some time after the siege of Methônê Philip was attacked by a dangerous illness. The reasons which induced the Athenians to take so lively an interest in this occurrence are explained in Olynth. iii. The king was besieging the fortress of Heræum, in Thrace, and in all probability made no secret of his designs on Byzantium. This movement occasioned great excitement at Athens. It was resolved to equip a considerable force, and a portion of the citizens were even required to serve on board the triremes; but many months elapsed before these preparations were completed. Exactly at this juncture the news of Philip's illness reached Athens; and more than once it was confidently reported that he was dead. In consequence of these reports the Athenians relaxed in their exertions, and, even when the hopes which they had entertained of being relieved from all their difficulties by the king's death proved fallacious, the decree which they had passed was only partially carried into effect. Comp. with this passage a similar one in the *Oration de Falsa Leg.*: ‘In former days, O Athenians, the other Grecian states looked to your decisions; but now we ourselves run here and there to find out what others have done. What have the Arcadians determined on? What have the Amphictyons decreed? Where is Philip now? Is he alive or dead? I have no fears for my own personal safety from Philip's life; but I am afraid, when your hatred of traitors languishes and dies; the king would not terrify me, if your

hearts were only right; but I shudder at the thought that those (P. who are in his pay still remain unpunished," &c. *J.* || καὶ γὰρ. Gr. 3). 1476, t (1053, h). || ἂν περ, *signidem*. || οὕτω, in this way, i. e. as you now do, in no better way. || οὕδ' ἂν οὕτως, *nam ne hio quidem*. Even this Philip, as contrasted with the new Philip, that your own inactivity will create. || παρὰ here virtually = *on account of, through, from*; the notion being that of *parallel extension* with its cause: of *co-augmentation*. Cf. 18, 232: πάντ' ἂν παρὰ τοῦτο — γίγνεσθαι τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, εἰ—δευρὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἀλλὰ μὴ δευρὶ παρήνευκα: *negat in eo positae esse fortunas Græciæ, huc an illuc manus porregerit* (Cic. Or. 8, 27). Cf. 9, 2. Weber ad 23, 205. *F.* || καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο, *quatenus ut etiam hoc afferam vel offeratur*. Supply *ἐνθυμητίον*, or some such notion. *Wt.* Cf. 18, 123: so καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο, 19, 314. 56, 40: καὶ γὰρ αὐ τοῦτο, 21, 167: ἐπεὶ κάκεινο, 44, 55. *F.* || βέλτιον, *sc. ἐπιμελείται ἡμῶν*. Cf. 3, 29. Thuc. 1, 82, 2: οὗοι ὅσπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπ' Ἀθηναίων ἐπιβουλευόμεθα. *F.* || καὶ τοῦτ', *etiam hoc*, i. e. τὸ παθεῖν τι Φιλίππον. *F.* || ἄπασιν ἂν, *c. r. l.* The *ἂν* stands thus early in the clause, because the *conditional* force of it (though here virtually lost by a Greek idiom) belongs to the *participle* as well as to the verb: = *ἄπασιν ἂν . . . ἐπισταίητε καὶ διοικήσασθε*. || ἐπιστάητε = "*adstare*, i. e. *præsto esse*, ut quavis rerum gerendarum opportunitate uti possint." *F.* || ὅπως βούλεσθε, *pro arbitrio (at your pleasure)*. On the indicative cf. Gr. 1389 (1001) § 886, 2. || διδόντων [διδόνα = *to offer*] καιρῶν τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν. See Introduction. || ἀπηρτημένους . . . γνώμας, *being removed both in your preparations and feeling*, i. e. having neither your army nor your thoughts there. Προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν τοῖς πράγμασιν, § 11: i. e. καὶ ταῖς γνώμας μὴ ἀπηρτησθαι τῶν πραγμάτων. *F.* = *ἀπόντες* above, as opp. to παρόντες, *sc. τοῖς πράγμασιν*. *Wt.*

§ 3. [§ 13, p. 43.]

JK. "ὥς μὲν οὖν (ὑμᾶς) ἅπαντας ὑπάρχειν ἰθίλοντας ποιεῖν ἰτοί- 3
μους τὰ προσήκοντα. Ceteram ἅπαντας ἰτοίμως graviter in fine u
enunciationis collocata sunt." *F.* || ὑπάρχειν ἰθίλοντας is an em-
phatic ἰθίλειν, denoting more strongly a *permanent* state. So 15, 1:
ἅπαντες ὑπάρχειν ἰγνωκότες μοι δοκεῖτε, and often. || ὥς ἰγνωκόντων,
in the belief that you know, &c., because I believe that you know. Gr.
1143 (866) § 701. || τῶν τοιοῦτων πραγμ., *hoc tali rerum statu*.
F. || τὸ πλήθος, *sc. τῶν στρατευομένων*. *F.* || ὅσον—ὀλίγους, *sc.*
ἀπαλλάξαι ἂν οἶμαι. *F.* || καὶ θή, *immediately, at once*. Gr.
1459, b. || ἔπειδ' ἂν, "*legitimum asyndeton, 'quum res ante vel*
universas vel obscurius indicata explicatur accuratius.'" *Herm. F.*
|| πρότερον προλαβ. Compare πάλιν ἀναλήψασθε above in
p. 2, v. Thuc. 6, 57: ἐβούλοντο πρότερον εἰ δύναντο προτι-
μωρήσασθαι. "Sensus est: *ne prius antecertite* (sc. *judicio, quod*
est e verbo κρίνατε supplendum), *quam omnia audideritis*, i. e. *ne*
occupate judicare." *F.* Observe the *single, definite act* (κρίνατε) which
was to follow the full hearing of the orator's explanation, as contrasted
with the *continued state* of mental anticipation προλαμβάνετε.

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(P.
4).

^A εἰς δέον, in rem vestram, e re vestra. So § 10, c.—Cf. Or. 20, 26 : τὰς εὐπορίας—εἰς δέον ὑμῖν γιγνομένας. lb. 44 : εἰς δέον δὲ νῦν γίγονεν αὐτῷ τὸ παρ' ὑμῶν λαβεῖν τότε τὴν ἀρίλειαν. F. || τῇ νυνὶ βοηθείᾳ. Gr. 690 (554) § 546. || ἀλλ' ὅς ἂν δείξῃ, κ.τ.λ. = ἀλλ' οὗτος (μάλιστα εἰς δέον λείξει) ὃς ἂν δείξῃ, κ.τ.λ. || τίς πορισθεῖσα, κ.τ.λ. In English a sentence like this must be divided into two or more sentences, and the τίς, πόση, and πόθεν rendered by substantives : but he who shall declare the nature and extent of the armament that must be raised, and the sources from which it must be supported, that it may be able to hold out till, &c.—Observe διαμῖναι (aor. inf.), though of a continued action. See Gr. 745, 6 (600, as b) § 401, obs. 1. || τοῦ λοιποῦ (= ever again, hereafter) denotes future repetition ; τὸ λοιπὸν, future continuance (henceforth). Cf. Gr. 1517. Herm. ad Vig. 706. (In § 523 this difference is not mentioned.) || μὴ κωλύων, rather than οὐ κωλύων, because the participle is to be taken in close connexion with the infn. ἔχειν = ita me dicere posse, ut non impediam, &c. F. Gr. 1184, c. || ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι = to profess. Br. says “ὑπισχνεῖσθαι est polliceri, quod præstare et possis et velis, etsi alter a te non flagitavit : ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι est promittere, quod alter non flagitaverit, plerumque etiam quod præstare non possis, sive canitate ductus, sive lucris studio, sive alia causa.” This is too strong :—ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι, as referring to the statement of the individual himself, may receive more or less of doubt and discredit, according to the obvious implication of the speaker ; but the mere word does not imply so much as B. makes it. || μὲν οὖν. Gr. 1479 (1053, i). || οὕτω μεγάλη, so great, i. e. as the promise virtually made, when, by stating what would be most to the purpose (εἰς δέον), I implied that I would do this. || τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμα, “res (i. e. expositio consilii, quæ jam sequitur).” F. || ἔλεγχον δώσει = probationem dabit : will show whether I have, or have not promised more than I shall perform. Cf. 22, 22 : αἰρία μὲν γάρ ἐστιν, ὅταν τις ψιλῶ χρησάμενος λόγῳ μὴ παράσχηται πίστιν ὧν λέγει, ἔλεγχος δὲ, ὅταν ὧν ἂν εἶπῃ τις καὶ τάληθες ὁμοῦ δείξῃ. F.

§ 4. [§ 16, p. 44.]

^B πεντήκοντα. B. remarks that this was but a moderate number, since the Athenians were able, in the days of Dem., to equip a fleet of from three to four hundred triremes. || δαῖν, absolutely, as is often the case. So oportere, e. g. Cic. de Fin. 1, 9, 30 : quorum nihil oportere exquisitis rationibus confirmare. F. || εἴτα. Gr. 1467, § 766, 1. || οὕτω τὰς γν. ἔχειν, ὥς, . . . πλευστέον. Such forms as οὕτω τὰς γνώμας ἔχειν (οὕτως διακίεσθαι, &c.) are often followed by ὥς with gen. absol. (e. g. Xen. Cyr. ὥς οὖν ἐμοῦ μηδέποτε ἀμελήσουστος οὕτως ἔχε τὴν γνώμην). Here the acc. absol. is used with the neut. gerundive, of which I am not able to furnish another example. || τοῖς ἡμίσεσι τῶν ἱππέων, i. e. 500 : for each tribe furnished 100. Cf. Gr. 857, b (706) § 442 c, d. || ἱππαγωγὸς τριήρ., “τριήρης s. νῆς ἱππαγωγοί

α. *ἱππηγοί*, quae primum Pericle auctore Ol. 87, 2, e vetustis navibus (P. factae sunt (Thuc. 2, 56), triremes dicuntur, quibus equites et equi 4). vehebantur. Ab his et *ὀπλιταγωγοί* τρ., de quibus supra, et *τριήρεις* ταχῆσαι (p. 5, A.), *naves longae*, quarum in pugna navali usus erat, distinguendae sunt." F. || *πλοῖα*, sc. τὰ *φύροντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καὶ ὑπερτεῖα*. Sch. || καὶ *Χερρόνησον*. "The expedition against Pylae (Thermopylae) Olymp. 107, 1, has already been frequently mentioned. Kersobleptes, son of the Thracian king Cotys, had ceded the whole of the Thracian Chersonese, except the city of Cardia, to the Athenians, who took possession of it, and reduced the cities which offered any resistance. (Or. in Aristoc. p. 261. Diodor. xvi. 34.) That this resistance was encouraged by Philip, is by no means improbable; but nothing further is known of the expedition which he undertook at the time when this oration was delivered. An expedition against Olynthus after the siege of Heraeum and the illness of Philip, which happened about this time, are both mentioned by Demosthenes. Olynth. i. 13, 3." J. || *πρῶτον* "*super*, id est ante quattuor annos. 22, 14, i. q. ante tres annos." F. || *ἐκ τῶν*. "It is evident that the orator is here contrasting former and more recent occurrences. Neither in the expedition against Euboea, nor the other against Haliartus (a city of Boeotia) was the interest of the Macedonian king at stake, as Tourreil supposes; but both are adduced simply as instances of successful activity. It is probable, as Leland conjectures, that by the first of these is meant the expedition against the Thebans, undertaken by the Athenians (Ol. 105, 3), for the benefit of the Euboians. This enterprise is mentioned by Demosthenes, Olynth. p. 11, 10, Or. c. Mid. 570, and more distinctly de Statu Chers. p. 108, 12. The other is of a different date. When the disputes between the Lacedaemonians and Thebans began, Haliartus was besieged by Lysander (Ol. 96, 2), who was slain in a sally by the Thebans and Athenians. Pausanias, the Spartan king, having marched against Haliartus, the Athenians despatched a force thither under the command of Thrasybulus, and compelled the king to conclude an armistice and retrace his steps. Plutarch. Vita Lysandr. c. 29. Xenoph. Hist. Hell. 5, 6—25." J. || *οὕτως* *παρελῶς*, *sive* *propterea* *non*. Sch.

εἰ μὴ ποιήσωμεν ἂν τοῦτο. "Recte additur ἂν, cum enuntiatio per se, h. e. nulla ratione habita antegressae particulae εἰ, sit hypothetica: *dicamus* forte (εἰ τύχοι) *hoc non faciat*. Ut autem conditio nostro in loco latet involuta, sic expressa est in Xen. Cyr. 1, 6, 41, εἰ τοιαῦτα ἐτελέσας καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μηχανᾶσθαι, οὐκ οὐδ' ἔγωγε, εἰ τινα λίπας ἂν τῶν πολέμων." Sch. || *ἐξαγγέλλοντες*, *sunt* (inveniuntur) *apud* nos, qui *nuntiant*, *idque iusto plura*. F. || *πλείους τοῦ δεινότες*. "Tourreil is quite right in supposing that these words refer, not to Aeschines, whose compact with the king is of a later date, but to Aristodemus, and Neoptolemus, and very possibly to other parties also; for the urbanity and liberality of Philip had gained him friends and adherents in every part of Greece, where, as we are told by Diodorus (xvi. 54), there was at that time 'an abundant crop of traitors.'" J. || *ἀφύλακτος* *ληφθῆ* (= *μη φυλαττόμενος*) *may be taken off his guard*. || *μηδέν* (neut.), *nothing*: *μηδέν*, rather than

- (P. *οὐδὲν*, on account of *ἴνα*. *F.* || *δεδοχθαι*: *ἐμφατικῶς, quæ deorata esse oportet*. Cf. 5, 12. 8, 3. 16. 14, 17: *καὶ τὰ μὲν σώματα οὕτω φησὶ δειν συνετελεσθαι (F.)*: the perf. inf. here denotes a *completed state*, what should be done and finished off. || *προχειρίσασθαι, to hold in readiness*, i. e. "*πρόχειρους ποιήσασθαι, parare copias, quibus, cum velis, uti possis.*" *F.* || *ἡ . . πολέμῃσιν*, Gr. 1248 (923) § 826, 2. || *μή μοι*, sc. *εἴπῃς* sive *λεγίτω τις*. Cf. Arist. Ach. 344, *ἀλλὰ μὴ μοι πρόφασιν. F.*

D "The expression *ἐπιστολιμαίους δυνάμεις, forces on paper*, is explained by the warning which immediately follows. According to the Lex. Rhet. in Bekker's Anecd. p. 253, they are *τὰς ἐν ἐπιστολαῖς γραφομένας μόνον δυνάμεις ἔργῳ δὲ ἢ ἐν πολέμῳ μὴ θεωρουμένας*. Reiske (ind. verb. *ἐπιστολιμαίους*) understands the phrase to mean 'letters,' in which the city promised to her generals large reinforcements, which were never sent out—'*copias pietas solummodo et litteris consignatas.*' Further on we find this caution, 'Consider that the war with Philip is not to be carried on merely by decrees and *ΛΕΤΤΕΡΑ.*' D'Olivet thinks that the expression refers to letters in which promises were made to the mercenary soldiers, which were never fulfilled. There seems, however, no reason why we should thus limit the words of the orator." *J.* || *ἀλλ' ἤ, "sed eas (tales) copias, quæ — futura sint. Hæc enim pariter atque ea quæ præcedunt ἢ δυνάμειν τινα definiunt et determinant."* *Sp.* || *τῆς πόλεως εἶναι = to belong to the State; to be its army, and to do its work.* The reference is not to the composition of the army, though it was to consist partly of citizens, but to its obedience to generals appointed by Athens, as contrasted with the licentiousness which had sometimes led mercenary troops to make war on their own account whilst receiving Athenian pay. || *κάν.* "Excidisse videtur nonnullis *καὶ* ante *κάν*, certe intelligendum, ut sit i. q. *καὶ, κἀν ἑμῖς ἔνα κἀν πλείους—χειροτονήσῃτε στρατηγόν, τοῦτω πείσεται, κ.τ.λ.*, ut Phil. iii. p. 119, § 32: *τίθῃσι—τόν—ἀγῶνα, κἀν αὐτὸς μὴ παρῇ, τοὺς δούλους πέμπει, pro καὶ, κἀν—μὴ παρῇ, —πέμπει.* Facile omisit in n. l. *καὶ* Demosthenes, quia, quanquam variatâ structurâ, extremum enunciatum cum his conjungitur ita: *καὶ—κελεύω.* Infra p. 10, B, *κἀν*, i. q. *καὶ, ἂν* ad diversas enunciationes referendum." *V.* || *τροφὴν, maintenance*, i. e. the mere rations (without pay). || *ἐθέλῃσι, will choose*: the thing required was to find a sufficient inducement to make this armament willing and anxious to effect Athenian objects. It must not be set down as equivalent to *δυνήσεται.—ταῦτα ποιεῖν, to do this*, relates, not to the immediately preceding *τροφὴν* ἔξει, but the more distant *ἀλλ' ἢ τῆς πόλεως εἶναι—καὶ ἀκολουθήσει.* *Sp.* || *καθ' ἕκαστον τούτων, each of these particulars one by one: καθ' ἕκαστον* is taken virtually, as one word; and here as the object of *διεξιῶν*. Cf. 9, 22. 64. 18, 17: *βούλομαι δὲ καὶ καθ' ἕν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐξετάσαι.* || *ξένους μὲν λέγω.* "To propose such forces was always popular among the pleasure-loving Athenians of the time of Demosthenes. The orator names them first; then, in order to conciliate his hearers, and show them that, although he had

not a very good opinion of such troops by themselves, still he did not intend entirely to exclude them. But having it in his mind to propose what he knew would seem but an insignificant force to the magnificent notions of the Athenian legislators, who were famous for voting great things and executing nothing, he throws in, in a parenthesis, a reason for so doing, and then, when he resumes the subject (p. 5, A, λέγω δὴ), proceeds to speak of the force as a whole, commencing as though nothing had been said upon the point before." C. aft. V. || *ἔσως μὴ ποιήσετε, take care not to do.* Gr. 799 (639) § 812, 2. || *πάντ' . . . δέοντος, whilst nothing ever seems to you great enough.* || *ἐπὶ τῷ πράττειν, "in agendo, i. e. quum ad agendum ventum est, ne parva quidem facitis s. efficitis."* F.

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λέγω δὴ, I say, then. δὴ, resumptive, = igitur, inquam. || τοὺς πάντας. Gr. 706 (569). || στρατιῶται here = foot-soldiers, being opposed to cavalry. Cf. § 6, B, § 9, B. Liv. 22, 37, 7: *militis atque equitis scire, nisi Romani Latinique nominis, non uti populum Romanum.* || δις χίλους is predicative, i. e. a predicative apposition: I state the whole number at two thousand. || μὴ μακρόν. "The orator proceeds very gently in developing this unpopular feature of his plan; he will be very condescending and deferential to the sovereign people in the details, if only he may gain the main point." C. || ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἀλλήλοις, lit. "by way of relieving each other," "upon the principle of relieving each other" = vicissim, "in turn." C. κατὰ διαδοχὴν, Thuc. 4, 8, 7. 7, 28, 2; κατὰ διαδοχὴν χρόνου, 7, 27, 2, h. e. ita, ut alteri alteris succedant. Cf. Æsch. 2, 168: *καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τὰς ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἐξόδους—ἐξήλθον.* For the dat. cf. Xen. Cyr. 1, 4, 17: *ἡ διαδοχὴ τῷ πρόσθεν φυλακῇ* (as ib. 8, 6, 18: *τῷ ἡμερινῷ ἀγγέλω τὸν νυκτερινὸν διαδίδεσθαι*). Pausan. 10, 22, 2: *ἀστόργων βαρβάρων ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἀλλήλοις ὑβρίζοντων.* V. || διακοσίους, this was the usual proportion of one horse-soldier to ten foot-soldiers. V. || εἰεν, good, well; esto, hæc hæcenus, ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτως. Timæus: *συγκατάθεσις μὲν τῶν ἱρημένων, συναφὴ δὲ πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα.* Cf. 19, 6. 20, 22. 22, 14. || καὶ ταχειῶν, i. e. οὐ μόνον τῶν ἱππαγωγῶν (§ 16), ἀλλὰ καὶ ταχειῶν. F.

πόθεν δὴ. On δὴ with interrogatives, cf. Gr. 1459, h. § 723, 2, end. B || διότι, here as a dependent interrogative. || τηλικαύτην, as τοσαύτην, § 5, = so great (and no greater), i. e. so small; so insignificant. Cf. 47, 54: *φόντο μὲν γὰρ οὐ τοσαῦτα μόνον λήψεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ πλείω.* Isocr. 12, 70: *ἡμῖν μὲν γὰρ συνέπεσε περὶ νησὺδρια τοιαῦτα καὶ τηλικαῦτα τὸ μέγεθος ἱξαμαρτεῖν, ἀ πολλοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐδ' ἴσασιν.* F. Cf. Cæs. B. G. 6, 35: *tantum præsidii est, ut ne murus quidem cingi possit.* || ἀποχρῆν is the inf. in use, not ἀποχρηναί. || καὶ πολῖτας τοὺς στρατευομένους εἶναι, the obvious way of construing the words, is to consider τοὺς στρατ. the subject, πολ. the predicate; and that the troops should be citizens: but then this is inconsistent with the fact, that only one quarter of the troops were to be citizens. Hence F. considers πολῖτας τοὺς στρατευομένους as the subject = our citizens who militant esse

(P. *adeesse*) *jubeam*. The words, however, do not mean this: it is better perhaps to consider Dem. to mean, that those who *come from Athens on this service, should be citizens*: (not *μέτρουκοι*, &c.) The mercenaries would be afterwards procured.

§ 5. [§ 23, p. 45.]

5 τοσαύτην μὲν, sc. ἀποκρῆν οἶμαι. *F.* || ἔτι = ἐνεσσι. || τὴν . . . παραταξομένην, a force which shall confront him in battle = a force to meet him in just battle. 18, 208: τοὺς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς παραταξαμένους. *F.* || ἐκείνη, i. e. τῇ ἐκείνου δυνάμει. *Aesch.* 3, 128: μήθ' αἱ συμφοραὶ παραπλήσιοι γίνονται αὐτῆς μηδενὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Ib. 228: ἀφομοιοὶ γάρ μου τὴν φύσιν ταῖς Σιρῆσιν. *F.* || ληστεύειν = to carry on a guerilla warfare; to carry on a petty war; to carry on an irregular warfare. Cf. Liv. 1, 15: "Latronum sive militum grassantium modo bellum gerere, quibus frumentum quidem, nec vero stipendium sit solvendum, sed praeda libere vivendum; qui in fines Macedoniæ excurrerent populabundi magis quam justis more belli; non castris positos, non expectato hostium exercitu raptam ex agris prædam portantes redirent." Cf. § 8, D. V. || τὴν πρώτην. *F.* 1517, § 558, 1. —On this war cf. Handbk. Ant. Hist. § 304.—It was in this war that mercenaries were first employed by Athens on a large scale; the long series of hostilities having greatly increased the number of persons who were thrown upon war as a means of subsistence (*Thirl.* vol. iv. p. 449). The great victory of the war was the famous defeat of the Lacedæmonians by the Athenians under Iphicrates, with his newly-equipped *targeteers*.

c ἀκούς = I have heard. Gr. 766, g (614, d) § 396. || τράφευ, "i. e. ὅτι ἐτρέφεν ἢ πόλις, ne præsens pro aoristo esse credas." *F.* || ἐν Κορίνθῳ. "Aristophanes in the *Plutus*, v. 173, alludes to the maintenance of an army of mercenaries at Corinth by the Athenians, Ol. 96, 3. Many Athenian generals are mentioned by name as leaders of this force: among others Polystратus. This name, however, in the passage before us, was a stumbling-block to the grammarian Didymus, who wished to substitute *Polytropus*, from Xenoph. *Histor.* Gr. vi. 5, 11, an alteration to which Harpocration not unreasonably objects (in *Πολύστρατος*, p. 286). Another critic proposes *Callistratus* (from the oration of Demosthenes against Timotheus). But these suggestions are negatived, as Leland justly observes, by Demosthenes himself, who, in his *Ora.* c. Leptis. p. 482, 86, mentions Polystратus in conjunction with Iphicrates, who played a very conspicuous part in this war." *J.* || ἐξ οὐ—στρατεύεται = since they have undertaken expeditions alone. Gr. 740 (594). || οἱ δ' ἐξῆρδον. Observe the *οἱ* without a preceding *μέν*. This renders the contrast sharper, by stating the notions more independently. || περικύρρειν is to bend down the head to look at an object: hence the notion is that of looking at an object as one passes by it. The derived notion, as here, is that of just glancing at it, and hence, with reference to things to be done, to pay them but a slight and passing attention. So Luc. *Pisc.* 30: ἐπειδὴ μόνον παρίκρυψα εἰς τὰ ὑμῖν. *Sp.* [In

St. James, ὁ δὲ παρασέφας εἰς νόμον τέλειον τὸν τῆς ἐλευθερίας (P. is coupled with παραμύνας, and therefore denotes a more continued ὅ). gazing at or rather looking into the object.] || Ἀπτόβηλος, "There can be no doubt that Demosthenes here alludes to the aid afforded by Chares to the insurgent satrap Artabazus, although the orator represents the circumstances differently from Diodor. xvi. 22. According to the historian, Chares, in the war with the Confederates, Ol. 106, 1, was compelled, by absolute necessity, to lend his army to Artabazus, that he might discharge the arrears due to his soldiers. The Athenians were at first perfectly satisfied with this arrangement, which relieved them from present embarrassment; but when the king of Persia complained bitterly of the assistance rendered to his rebellious subjects, and threatened to support the opposite party, they all at once became eager for peace. Demosthenes, without bringing any charge against the general, throws the blame on the soldiers; and it is very possible that Chares might have pleaded that the only object which he had in view, in thus yielding to the outcries of an impatient and mutinous soldiery, was the welfare of his country. This passage refers to one of the most objectionable practices in Athenian warfare, by which their friends were often disgusted. (Isocrates. Areop. c. 37, 38.) Plutarch says (Vit. Phocion. c. 11) that the allies of Athens and the islanders, were accustomed to regard the Athenians as enemies, when their fleets were seen off the coast, and to strengthen their fortifications, throw chains across their harbours, and place their property in safety. Phocion, speaking in condemnation of this policy, used to say that the Athenian government understood the art of rendering Athens odious even to those states which could not defend themselves without her assistance; and Demosthenes, in the Or. de Cor. trierarch. p. 1232, makes the speaker say, that considering the acts of violence which were committed in these maritime expeditions, it might fairly be said that such fleets as these were fitted out, not in aid of, but against the states which they affected to defend. What else could be expected from a miscellaneous rabble of adventurers, to whom the very name of patriotism was unknown! Yet the very greediness and licentiousness of those mercenaries were considered by Iphicrates important qualifications for the warfare in which they were engaged." J. || ὁ δὲ στρατηγός = 'and the general.'—δὲ connects notions of which the second is distinguished from the first, but not opposed to it. || ἐκόντως, (neque id mirum est =) 'naturally,' 'naturally enough.' || ἄρχαν is here emphatic, to command: to be really the commander, receiving and enforcing obedience. || ἢ δίδοντα (sc. τινά) is to be resolved conditionally with if—not; unless.

τὰς προφάσεις, sc. those that are in the habit of alleging. || ἐνδοκρῆς, "inspectores, exquisite dictum; nam sic ii, qui magnis mysteriis initiati erant, appellabantur. Infra § 11, μάρτυρας dicit." F. || τῶν στρατηγούμενων τῶν παρὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν πραττομένων, as § 11. Comp. the passive use of other intransitive verbs: e.g. τὰ σοὶ κάποι βεβωμμένα, 18, 265; τῶν σωφρονημένων ἐν τῷ βίῳ, Aesch. 2, 4. F. || παρακταστήσαντες, sc. τῷ στρατηγῷ καὶ τοῖς ταξίαρχοις. F.

(P. || γέλως = γελοῖον. Cf. our 'a joke.' 19, 73, ἐστὶ δὲ ταῦτα γέλως, 5). μάλλον δ' ἀναισχυντία δεινή. F. || Φιλίππῳ. "The words, 'we carry on war with Philip,' must not be taken literally, for, at the time when this speech was delivered, there had been no open rupture; although the business of Amphipolis, the sending troops to Euboea, which were opposed by a Macedonian force (Ol. 106, 3), and the measures adopted in consequence of Philip's advance to Thermopylae (Ol. 106, 4), and his proceedings in Thrace (Ol. 107, 1), amounted to an indirect declaration of war." J. || οὐκ ἐχειροτονεῖτε. The orator here resumes the discourse himself, after the supposed dialogue. The Athenians were in the habit of choosing ten generals (στρατηγοίς) annually, one from each tribe, who shared among them the chief command of the army and management of military affairs. Also, ten *tasiarchs*, under the generals, each of whom led the infantry of his tribe in war; then two *hipparchs*, who led the cavalry, and under these ten *phylarchs*, one for the cavalry of each tribe. It is worthy of remark, that, in naming these officers, the lower officer is mentioned before the higher, just as we say *captains* and *colonels*. C. [Gr. Antiq. 150.]—ἐχειροτονεῖτε, i.e. *lately*; or, *this year as usual*. F. || ὅν ἂν ἐκπέμψετε = *quocumque miseritis*. Gr. 1251 (924) § 831, 1, 2. It is implied that they had not yet sent any *one* of them. The Athenians plainly were at war with Philip, though the war was yet not *proclaimed*, and so *indolently prosecuted*, that it was difficult even for an Athenian to know whether it was peace or war. || τὰς πομπάς, i.e. the *regular* processions of the year. || ἱερωταῖον. "Sacrificers, *ἱερωτοί*. For an account of these functionaries, of whom ten were annually nominated from the ten tribes, see the commentator on Pollux, 8, 107, and Valer. ad Maussac. Not. in Harpocr. p. 132. They superintended the celebration of religious solemnities, watched the behaviour of the soothsayers when the sacrifices were inspected, and also selected the victims. See Böckh, Economy of Athens, p. 215 (with note 275). Probably on festivals they walked in procession to the temple, accompanied by other magistrates; among whom, as we gather from this passage, were officers of the republic, who enjoyed their 'otium cum dignitate' at Athens after it had become the custom to leave the toils of war to mercenary troops. The parades of the cavalry on solemn occasions are described by Xenophon, Magister Equit. c. 3." J.

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A ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον. "For processions, and to augment the brilliancy of your religious festivals, not for use. The words οἱ πλάττοντες τοὺς πηλίνους in the comparison signify puppet-makers, who are elsewhere called *πηλοπλάθοι* and *κοροπλάσται*. That these artists, among other figures, produced representations of soldiers and generals, we may readily suppose; nor can, I think, the simile of the orator be understood in any other sense. Auger says, that sculptors used to set up figures of clay before their doors by way of signs, a remark which does not seem much to the purpose, although

it must be allowed that his translation of the passage expresses the (P. author's meaning better than that of Leland, who renders it too 6). vaguely thus: 'So that, as if you formed so many men of clay, you make your officers for show and not for service.'" J. || οὐ γὰρ ἐχρήν. On γὰρ in interrogations cf. Gr. 1455, g, § 872, 1. Here it is equivalent to 'for tell me.' The force of it may be given by 'but,' opposing what ought to be to what is. "Ἐχρήν εἶναι, oportebat esse, at non sunt; ἐχρήν ἂν εἶναι, oporteret esse, at non oportet (§ 1)." F. || παρ' ὑμῶν (from =) of yourselves. "Cf. Din. 1, 56, τὸν παρ' αὐτῶν, i. e. hominem ex ipsorum numero." F. || ἄρχοντας οἰκείους, leaders of your own: παρ' ὑμῶν is the predicate repeated, and ἀρχ. οἰκείους a predicative apposition.—According to Wst. ἄρχοντας is also subject, ἄρχοντας [= in short your commanders generally] εἶναι οἰκείους. || ἦν = ut esset. Gr. 1314 (955) § 813. || αἰς . . . Ἀθήμνον. Philostratus (Heroic. 19, 14) informs us, that a lustral ceremony was held at Lemnos every year with great splendour. Since, then, the island contained many resident Athenians, it is natural to suppose that a procession was sent from Athens to assist at the pageant. "In the war of the Confederates, an army of Athenian citizens was sent to the assistance of the Lemnians. Diodor. 16, 21. The Menelaus mentioned by Demosthenes as having been the commander of the army of observation despatched to the frontier after Philip's unsuccessful attempt on Thermopylae, is said to have been the half-brother of the Macedonian king spoken of by Justin 7, 4, and Harpocration Μενέλαος. (See Valesius, p. 52.) D'Olivet, on the other hand, remarks, that even if Philip were not on the best terms with his brothers, the Athenians would scarcely have selected one of them for a post of such importance. We may add, that Demosthenes would not, in all probability, have omitted turning this circumstance to account, in the shape of an accusation either against the Athenian people, or, on some other occasion, against Philip himself. It seems, however, certain, that this Menelaus was a foreigner." J. || δεῖ πλεῖν, must sail, i. e. according to your actual practice. || ὑφ' ὑμῶν . . . κεχ. "A vobis creatum, unde patet civem esse. 'Ab Atheniensibus enim non poterat χειροτονεῖσθαι nisi qui ipse esset Atheniensis.' Sch. Hoc unum autem reprehendit Demosthenes, quod peregrinus homo, isque ne a populo quidem creatus, militibus in bello praesit, non unus alterve ex eorum numero, quos populus exercitui praefecerit." F.

§ 6. [§ 28, p. 47.]

καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ. "Uti cupitis audire, sic etiam dicendo exsequor." 6
Sp. || χρήματα is the nom., which is subdivided, as it were, into B
ἡ τροφή. || ἔστι, is = amounts to, comes to. || ἡ τροφή is the subject, σιτηρέσιον μόνον (the mere subsistence) in apposition to it; an apposition added to exclude the notion that this sum includes the pay of the troops. || μικρόν τι πρὸς, a little besides, or more. πρὸς adverbial. Gr. 1429 (1036, c) § 640. Cf. in Aph. A., § 68, στερομένους καὶ πρὸς ὑπὸ τούτων ὑβριζομένους. Lept. § 112, p. 491, ἐγὼ δ' ἡγοῦμαι τοῦτον τὸν λόγον, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατὰ πόλλ' ἀσύμφορον εἶναι

(P. τῇ πόλει λίγισθαι, πρὸς δὲ καὶ οὐ δίκαιον. Eur. Orest. 621, Μενέλαε, 6). σοὶ δὲ τάδε λέγω, δρᾶσω τε πρὸς. Phœn. 613, καὶ κατακτενῶ γε πρὸς. Br.—The scheme is :—

(m. = minæ; dr. = drachmæ.)

$$\begin{array}{r}
 \text{Per month.} \\
 \begin{array}{l}
 20 \text{ m.} \\
 10 \text{ dr.} \\
 30 \text{ dr.}
 \end{array}
 \end{array}
 \times 12 = \begin{array}{l}
 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 240 \text{ m.} \\ 120 \text{ dr.} \\ 360 \text{ dr.} \end{array} \right\} \times \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 10 \text{ trir.} \\ 2000 \text{ inf.} \\ 200 \text{ cav.} \end{array} \right\} = \begin{array}{l}
 \begin{array}{l} \text{tal.} \\ 2400 \text{ m.} = 40 \\ 240,000 \text{ dr.} = 40 \\ 72,000 \text{ dr.} = 12 \end{array}
 \end{array}
 \end{array}$$

tal. 92

Hence the *foot-soldiers* and *marines* (i.e. fighting-men in the *triremes*) were to receive two oboli a-day: the cavalry one drachma each. || τοῦ μηνὸς ἐκάστου. Gr. 868 (685) § 523. || στρατιώταις. Gr. 904 (716) § 598, obs. || τοσαῦθ' ἔτερα, i.e. τετταράκοντα ἔτερα (cf. 57, 6), *totidem, alterum tantum*. Cf. 27, 31. Liv. 1, 36 extr., *numero* (equitum) *alterum tantum adjecit, ut mille ac ducenti equites in tribus centuriis essent*. Aliis locis est, i.q. *bis tantum*, ut Isocr. 4, 153. Cf. Liv. 10, 46 extr., *militibus ex præda centenos binos asses et alterum tantum centurionibus atque equitibus divisit*. F. || σιτηρέσιον . . ὑπάρχειν. This clause is the *subject* (σιτηρέσιον = *ration-money*, generally), *μικρὰν ἀφορμὴν* the predicate. *ἀφορμή* here = *means, provision* for the war. || ἐγνεκέναι here, as often, = *to judge, to think, to conclude*. || προσποριεῖ. Several editors (e.g. Rüd.) would read, with Küster, *προσποριεῖται* = *sibi comparabit*; but this is unnecessary, for (1) the active is found elsewhere, where the middle might be expected (e.g. Olynth. 1 (2), 16, ὅς' ἂν πορίσωσιν οὕτως, ὅπως ἂν δύνωνται. Supra, § 4, d, ἀλλὰ τὰ μικρὰ ποιήσαντες καὶ πορίσαντες τούτοις προστιθετέ, ἂν ἐλάττω φαίνηται. Menand. p. 244, Cler., ἡμεῖς δὲ χωρὶς τῶν ἀναγκαίων κακῶν αὐτοὶ παρ' αὐτῶν ἔτερα προσπορίζομεν. Br.): (2) here the additional pay would be provided not *only* by the soldiers *for themselves*, but also by the soldiers *for the state*, which must otherwise have provided it.—We have here Buonaparte's favorite principle, of *making war support war*; though he did not attempt to do this (as Dem. thinks might be done) without injustice.

c ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμου, i.e. ἐκ τῆς λείας καὶ τῶν λαφύρων. Wolf. ἀπὸ denotes the *source*. Cf. 10, 2, πολεμί ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων συμμάχων. Cf. Olynth. 3, 7, 3. Plat. Men. 90, α, πλούσιος ἐγένετο οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου. Rüd. || ἔτοιμος, Gr. 634, b (517) § 376.

§ 7. [§ 30, p. 48.]

7 δεδυνήμεθα εὑρεῖν, *have been able to discover*, i.e. by a report or *εἰρησέ* (as Wolf supposes), obtained by Demosthenes from the proper financial officers (*πορισταί*), of the means at the command of the government. C. || ταῦτά ἐστιν. "According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, these words are the beginning of a new oration." J. || χειροτονήτε τὰς γνώμας, *when you vote upon the resolutions*, i.e. the different bills or plans for conducting the war which would be proposed by different orators. C. || χειροτονήσετε, *you will vote, I am sure*, milder imperat. He wished them to adopt the measures which

pleased them, because they would be more likely to carry them out, (P. and this was the main thing. C. || ἐπιστολαῖς. See § 4, D. 6).

§ 8. [§ 31, p. 48.]

δοκεῖτε = *it seems to me*. Gr. 1071 (822, a) § 676, 2, a. || ἄν . . . 8 βουλευσασθαι. Gr. 1087 (830) § 405, obs. 2. Observe the indic. pres. D δοκεῖτε in the apodosis, of which the protasis is opt. with ἄν. But, *virtually*, this is equivalent to βουλευσασθε ἄν, ὡς ἰμοὶ δοκεῖ. || τὸν τόπον, *the locality, situation*. || φυλάξεις, i. q. ἐπιτηρήσας. F. || τοὺς ἐτησίους. Every year a regular *trade-wind* blows from the north-west eight days before the rising of the Dog-star (about the 12th of July), these gales were called *Prodromi* (precursors); about two days after its rising the same winds (under the name of *Etesian winds*) blow steadily through the Dog-days, tempering the heat of summer, but proving a great impediment to a northerly voyage. V. || ἐπιχειρεῖ, sc. αὐτοῖς i. e. τοῖς πολλοῖς οἷς διαπράττειται. F. || ἥνίκ' ἄν . . . μὴ θναίμεθα. μὴ is used, not οὐ, because the sentiment is a *quoted view of Philip's*, and therefore belongs to the *oratio obliqua*. On ἄν with the opt. (where the *oratio recta* would have ἄν, c. subj.) cf. Gr. 1388 (1000) § 886, 3. || βοηθείαις. *Subitarii milites: ita tum repentina auxilia appellabant*, Liv. 3, 1. *Tumultuario exercitui*, opposed to *παρασκευῇ συνεχῆς*, i. e. ἡ διαμένει, ἕως ἄν διαλυσώμεθα — ἡ περιγενώμεθα, § 15, et *δύναμις συνεχῆς*, i. e. ἡ συνεχῶς πολεμήσει καὶ κακῶς ἐκείνον ποιήσει, § 19. Sp. Cf. § 10, c. sq., 8, 47. F. || ὕστεριούμεεν, i. e., "sero veniemus." F. "To this alacrity in anticipating the designs of his enemies and carrying out his own plans, Demosthenes here and elsewhere (see the Cherson.) ascribes the wonderful success of Philip in all his enterprises. See Valckenaer. Or. de Phil. p. 250, not. 85." J. || χειμᾶδι, a *winter-station, winter-quarters*, i. e. τόπω, ἐφ' οὗ ἄν τις δύναιτο χειμῶνος ἐγκαθορμίσασθαι (Etymol. M.). "Hibernis, quibus hic exercitus utatur (τῇ δυνάμει dat. commodi), Lemno—licet uti." F. Lemnos, Thasos, Sciathus, and other neighbouring islands, Scopelus, Halonnêsus, Peparêthus, &c., were then subject to Athens.

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τῷ τόπῳ, *regione* v. *tractu*. 20, 59, τὸν περὶ Θράκην τόπον. F. A || ἂν χρόν, sc. ὑπάρχειν. F. || τὴν δ' ὥραν, κ.τ.λ. *whilst* (δὲ, Gr. 1058, o, § 764, e) *during the season of the year when*, &c. (i. e. in the summer months.) || πρὸς τῇ γῇ γενέσθαι = *to put in to shore* (i. e. for military operations on the coast, blockading ports, &c.). || πρὸς τοῖς τῶν ἐμπορίων στόμασι, *at the harbour-mouths of the commercial towns* (to cut off convoys, prevent the exportation and importation of provisions, &c.). || ῥαδίως ἔσται, *it* (the force that has wintered in the neighbourhood) *will easily be* (= take up its station, &c.).

§ 9. [§ 33, p. 49.]

χρήσεται, sc. ὁ τούτων κύριος. F. || παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν, *dum* 9 *ocasio aderit*. 20, 44, παρὰ τοὺς μεγίστους καιροὺς (F.), *according*,

(P. to circumstances. Wst. || *ἔ, for what objects.* || γέγραφα, *scripto rogavi* 7). (F.); i. e. the sums which I have stated to be necessary in my financial exposition, § 4, D. He had drawn up his proposal in a bill, to be formally voted upon. || *ἄν ταῦτα.* Jk. *ἄν πρῶτον πορίσ. ταῦτα τὰ χρήματα ἃ λέγω.* F. || *ἄν . . . νόμῳ κατακλείσητε, if you bind them by law to carry on the war of the state, without running away to enter into expeditions of their own.* *Æsch.* 2, 43, *εἰς συνθήκην τινὰ ἡμᾶς κατέκλεισεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ταῦτ' ἱεῖν.* F.

B *τῶνδ' ἄλλα* τοὺς στρατώτας, τὰς τριήρεις, τοὺς ἱππίας: sc. *παράσκειν* ἄλλαν—*ἐντελῇ*, i. e. "*si reliqua paraveritis ita, ut nihil desit* (v. ad 1, 28), non *ἐντελῇ* πᾶσαν, quod, sive *integras omnes copias* (Auger.) sive *copias plane universas* (Manut.) interpretare, Græcum non est." F. || *αὐτοὶ ταμίαι καὶ πορισταί.* "The financial administration was, it seems, at that time in the hands of the generals. Demosthenes recommends that they should be relieved from this duty, and be considered responsible only for the due discharge of their proper functions." J. || *γινόμενοι* = *by becoming*; τῷ γίγνεσθαι (*κατακλείσητε*). F. || *τὸν λόγον, the account* (or his account); i. e. the account which every state-officer had to render, of public funds entrusted to his management. || *ἐκείνου*, sc. *Philip's.* || *ἀπὸ*, with reference to the *source* from which his means of fighting you are derived. || *ἔγων καὶ φέρων*, Gr. Syn. 96. Observe acc. *personas.* So 9, 52, 18, 230, *ἀντι τοῦ τοῦς ληστὰς ἡμᾶς φέρειν καὶ ἄγειν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας.* 51, 13, *πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀγὼ καὶ φέροι.* F. || *τοῦ πάσχειν—κακῶς ἔξω γονέω.* Compare the military terms *ἔξω βελῶν γενέσθαι*—*ἔξω τοῦ δεινοῦ γίγ.*, Xen. An. 2, 6, 11. F.

C *οὕχ ὥσπερ*, "*non quemadmodum—abduxit*, scil. ita et in posterum abducet (*οὐχίσειται ἔχων*); sic porro *ἐκλείξει* et *ἀποβήσεται* supplementum est. 21, 218, *οὐ γὰρ ἐκ πολιτικῆς αἰτίας οὐδ' ὥσπερ Ἀριστοφάν—ἔλυσε τὴν προβολὴν* (sc. *οὕτω λύων*), ἀλλ' *ἐξ ὕβρεως—κρίνεται.*" F. || *Ἰμβρον.* "Neither this nor the two other occurrences mentioned in this passage are noticed by any historian. Lucchesini supposes that they took place Ol. 105, 3: Winiewski places them in Ol. 106, 4. Comp. Vömel Proleg. ad Phil. i p. 73." J.—*Bohnecke* places them in Ol. 107, 3. || *ἔχετ' ἔχων, secum abduxit.* F. || *Γερæστus*, a promontory in the south of Eubœa, with a town of the same name upon it, and a port that was very convenient to persons sailing from Asia to Athens. Sp. || *ἐξέλεξε*, i. e. from the merchants whose vessels he intercepted. || *τὴν ἱερὰν . . . τριήρη*, the Paralus. F. "There were two 'sacred' triremes, the Salaminia and the Paralus. Both were employed for religious purposes, such as the transport of embassies and theories to holy places. Harpocration supposes that the Paralus is here meant, and cites the historians Philochorus and Androction in support of his opinion. See Wachsmuth, Grecian Antiquities, ii. 1." J. || *δύνασθε.* Gr. 1251 (924) § 828, 3. || *εἰς τοὺς χρ.:* *εἰς* = *against*, *by*, and hence virtually *at*; but with reference to a future point of time, for which arrangements are now made. || *Παναθηναίων.* On the *Panathenæa* and *Dionysia* cf. Hbk. Gr. Antiqq. 143. || *δαινό:* *οἱ μὲν δεινοὶ ἐνταῦθα οἱ ἔμπεροι τῆς διαθείσεως τῶν ἱερῶν, οἱ δὲ ἰδιῶται οἱ ἄπειροι τῶν τοιούτων.* Wolf.—*δεινοί, ἰδιῶται*, are the

predicates, are therefore without the article [Gr. 675 (546) § 460] ; (P. the peculiarity of the clause is, that, instead of the simple copula γ). ὥσιν, the more specific verb λάχωσιν (denoting their election by lot) is placed. The whole meaning is, *whether the persons who conduct them, and who are chosen by lot to fill this office, are experienced persons or inexperienced.*

ὄχλον, κ.τ.λ., the construction is καὶ [ᾧ, or rather, according to the Greek idiom, αὐτῷ] ἔχει τοσοῦτον ὄχλον καὶ παρασκευὴν δσιν, κ.τ.λ. The ὄχλος relates to the number of persons employed in getting up the processions, &c., the παρασκευὴ to the costly preparations, the vessels, dresses, &c. || δσιν . . . ἔχει, "quantum (apparatum) nescio an nihil omnino habeat, i. e. quantus ad nullam aliam rem impendi mihi videtur." F. Sauppe mentions that in one year (Ol. 92, 3) the Athlothētæ drew five talents and one thousand drachmæ from the treasury of Athênâ Polias for the celebration of the great Panathenæa. || τὸν εἰς Παιγασάς. "Pagasæ, a Thessalian city taken by Philip during the war with Lycophron the tyrant of Thessaly, Ol. 106, 4. We may conclude from this passage that the Athenians, at the commencement of Philip's conquests, made some attempts to succour those cities, which were partially occupied by Athenian garrisons; but that they either went no further than the intention, or were too tardy in their preparations to be of any service." J. || τίς . . . φυλάτῃ, sc. ἴσται. || χορηγὸς ἢ γυμνασιάρχος. "The CHOREGI were persons nominated out of each tribe, to defray the expenses attendant on the bringing out of the choruses, as well as to superintend the representation. These choral performances were not necessarily connected with Tragedy or Comedy, but were sometimes exhibited by themselves on solemn occasions. The GYMNASIARCHS, who were also selected from the tribes, were charged with the superintendence of the gymnasia and the arrangement of the games customary at some of the festivals, the Panathenæa for instance." J. [Handb. Gr. Antiqq. 163] || τίνα λαβόντα (sc. αὐτὸν) τί δεῖ π. 2, 25. F. || ἡμέληται = is negligently left. || ἅμα . . . καὶ, simul atque aliquid audivimus, trierarchos constituimus, sc. ἐπειδὴν πυθώμεθα τι γιγνώμενον, τηνικαῦτα παρασκευαζόμεθα (8, 11). Cf. 23, 209, ὑμῖν δὲ οὐδὲ μᾶς ἡμέρας ἐφόδιόν ἐστιν ἐν τῷ κοινῷ, ἀλλ' ἅμα δεῖ τι ποιῆν καὶ πόθεν οὐκ ἔχετε. F. Cf. Gr. 1447, b. || τριηρ. καθίσταμεν. "TRIERARCHS. See Büekh, Ec. of Ath. p. 541. It would appear from this passage, that those who were required to club together for the equipment of a trireme were not nominated until the fleet was actually wanted, and that in consequence of this practice great delay and inconvenience were occasioned by the hearing of appeals from those who considered themselves too highly rated, or who desired an exchange (ἀντιδόσις). A less clumsy arrangement was afterwards adopted by the advice of Demosthenes." J. [See Handbk. Gr. Antiqq. 165.] || τοῦτοις ἀντιδόσις, κ.τ.λ. "disputes about the Assessment. To prevent the wealthy citizens from excusing themselves on the plea of poverty from bearing their full share of the public burdens, it was enacted, in the time of Solon, that any person nominated to fill the office of trierarch, chorégus, &c., might inform against any other

- (P. citizen, whom he believed to be richer than himself, and demand 7). that the person thus denounced should either take the office in his stead, or exchange properties with him. We may well imagine what a source of litigation such a law as this must have been, and how injurious the practice was to the public service. See Böckh, *Econ.* 580 sq. and 674." [Handbk. Gr. Antiqq. 164, A.]

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- Α *ἐμβαλναι*. On *pres. inf.* cf. Gr. 1092 (831, b).—On the *μέτοικοι*, or resident-alien, cf. Handbk. Gr. Ant. 89; and on their non-exemption from military service, 147, A. || *ἔδοξε*, *aor.*, as denoting a truth of general experience. Gr. 752 (604) § 402, 1. || *τοὺς χωρὶς οἰκοῦντας*, the independent freedmen: the freedmen who had quitted their former masters' household, and set up for themselves: *οἱ ἀπελευθέρωτοι καθ' αὐτοὺς ὄκουν, χωρὶς τῶν ἀπελευθερωσάντων*. (*Harpos.*) So also Anecd. Bekk. i. p. 316. That *χωρὶς οἰκεῖν* signifies to keep house for oneself, may be proved from various passages of our orator. (See Schæf. *Ind. Verbor. v. χωρίς.*) Valesius imagines that they were either the inhabitants of the rural districts (*τοὺς χωρίτας*), or the foreigners resident at Athens, a view adopted by Leland. || *εἰτ' αὐτοὺς πάλιν*, then again (you vote) that you should embark yourselves. || *ἀντεμβαλῆσαι* = to put others on board instead of yourselves (*ἐμβαδῆσαι* trans., as *facillite* or *causative* of *ἐμβαίνειν*) = to substitute others. || *μέλλεται*. So Xen. An. 3, 1, 47. and Th. 5, 111: *ὑμῶν τὰ μὲν ἰσχυρότατα ἐπιζόμενα μέλλεται*. K.—On *τό* as demonstrat. pron. before a rel. clause, cf. Gr. 699, 6 (562, 6) § 444, c. || *οἱ δὲ τῶν . . εἰρωνείαν*. Liv. 31, 48: *non expectare belli tempora moras et dilaciones imperatorum* (Wst.).—*εἰρωνεία*, excuses, evasions, properly of those who dissemble their actual ability to do what is required. So above. || *τὸν μετὰ χρόνον*, in the intervening time, i. e. while you are collecting a larger force. Your notion that this force, which is already on foot, will at all events suffice to check the advance of Philip, is proved by the test of actual trial, when the time of action comes, to be vain and delusive. || *οὐσαι . . . ἐξελέγχονται*, Gr. 1110, column 2 (849) § 684, 2. JN. *ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν καιρῶν ἐξελέγχονται*. Cf. 18, 21, *τούτων τοιούτων ὄντων καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας δεικνυμένων*. F.—“By the ‘resources’ on which they had reckoned, but which had fallen short of their anticipations, I would understand the ways and means which they had voted in their first eagerness, without deducting any thing on account of the manifold difficulties and deficiencies which, as he had already shown, were sure to arise. The connexion is: ‘All these circumstances have rendered the king so insolent, that he,’ &c. &c.” J.

§ 10. [§ 38, p. 51.]

- 10 ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ. “It is much to be regretted that the letter to the B Eubœans has been lost; for it would, in all probability, have thrown some light on the historical difficulties of this oration. From the little which Demosthenes says on the subject, we gather that it con-

tained many remarks exceedingly unpalatable to the Athenians, (P. which were probably introduced by Philip in the hope of producing 8). a rupture between the islanders and Athens, and fomenting the party spirit which already existed among the inhabitants. (Diodor. xvi. 7.) That this policy had been successful in other cities, where the friends of Philip were all-powerful, and were supported in their usurped authority by Macedonian mercenaries, is evident from the fact, that in Ol. 106, 3 (see Büchh's Econ. pt. ii. p. 111, note 378) the tyrant of Eretria applied to Athens for assistance against the Macedonian party, which had gained the ascendancy in that city. (Plut. Vit. Phoc. c. 12.)" J. || ὥς οὐκ ἔδει are parenthetical. || οὐ μὴν ἀλλ'. Gr. 1444, fa. (1053, a) § 774, 6. || ἀκούειν. Gr. 1044 (809) § 667, a. || καὶ τὰ πράγματα ὑπερβ. "*Si quis, quae dicendo transierit, ea ipsa transierit* (h. e. effecerit, ut nihil habeant molesti). Pro eo autem, quod quis expectaverit ταῦτα καὶ τῷ ὄντι ὑπερβήσεται, paullo quidem insolentius καὶ τὰ πράγματα ὑπερβ. posuit, ac si antea non ὅσα ἂν τις, κ.τ.λ., sed ἴάν τις, κ.τ.λ. dixisset, sed effecit tamen, ut res (facta) et verba gravius inter se opponerentur. De re cf. 3, 18. 9, 4." F., who, in his former ed., had considered with most editors ὑπερβήσεται as intrans.—τὰ πρ. ὑπερβ., *the things themselves shall pass away*, i. e. if the disagreeable events anticipated will not really happen, because an orator avoids alluding to them. || φενακίζω. Gr. Syn. 80. || ἑαυτοῖς, *ourselves*, or (possibly) *one another*. Gr. 1009 (791) § 654, 2. || οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς πράγμασιν, *not to follow events*, i. e. not to make temporary provisions from time to time, as suggested by one unfortunate event and another, but to make preparations for the future, so as to be able to take advantage of favorable opportunities and circumstances. C. Cf. Liv. 9, 18: *At herce reges, non liberi solum impedimentis omnibus, sed domini rerum temporumque, trahunt consilium cuncta, non sequuntur*. || ἔμπροσθεν εἶναι, *to be beforehand with, to anticipate*. In its simple local sense the phrase occurs Xen. An. 5, 6, 9: *πολεμίων πολλῶν μὲν ἔμπροσθεν ὄντων, πολλῶν δ' ὀπισθεν ἐπομένων*. Sch. || τῶν πραγμ., sc. ἡγεῖσθαι. Cic. pro Balbo 4, 9: *quum etiam ipse casus eventusque rerum non duces, sed comites ejus consiliorum fuerit*. F. || τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὥσπερ, (in the same way as =) just as.

οὕτω καὶ. Gr. 1476, k, § 761. || ἐκείνους, sc. τοῖς βουλευομένοις, C though that is the nearer (not the more remote) notion. Cf. Gr. 1016 (795) § 655, 7. || τὰ συμβάντα, *casus eventusque rerum*. F. || τὰ συμβάντα . . . διώκειν, i. q. *ὀπισθεν εἶναι τῶν πραγμάτων*, sc. ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς πράγμασιν. Cf. Hdt. 7, 49: *μάθε, ὅτι αἱ συμφοραὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀρχοῦσι, καὶ οὐκ ἄνθρωποι τῶν συμφορῶν*. F. || πλείστην δύναμιν. 24, 216: *ἔσθ' ὃ τι κωλύει τὴν πόλιν μεγίστην εἶναι; οὐ τριήρεις, ὅσας οὐδεμία πόλις Ἑλληνίς, ἐκίτηται; οὐχ ὀπλίτας; οὐ προσόδους; οὐ τόπους; οὐ λιμένας;* 14, 13: *ὁρῶν ὑμῖν χιλίους μὲν ἱππείας, ὀπλίτας δὲ ὄσους ἂν ἐθίλῃ τις, ναῦς δὲ τριακασίας*. Ib. 30: *ἡμῖν δὲ τὸ τῆς χώρας τίμημα ὑπάρχον ἀφορμὴν ἐξακισχίλια τάλαντα ἀκούσεται*. Sp. || εἰς δέον τι. Cf. Ol. 3, 28: *πλείω δ' ἢ χίλια καὶ πεντηκῶσια τάλαντα ἀνῆλθκαμεν εἰς οὐδὲν δέον*. Hdt. || οὐδὲν δ', κ.τ.λ. "*Nihil reliquum facitis, quin, ut dar-*

(P. *bari luctantur, eis cum Philippo bellum geratis*. Cf. Plat. Phæd. 8). p. 69, D : ὡν δὲ καὶ ἐγωγε—οὐδὲν ἀπέλιπον—γενέσθαι." Sp. Thuc. 7, 70, 4 : βραχὺ γὰρ ἀπέλιπον (i. e. ὀλίγον ἰδέησαν) ἐναυμφοτέραι διακοῖαι γενέσθαι. F. || οἱ βάρβαροι is considered by most modern commentators in the secondary sense of those who have *not learnt boxing*. I cannot but think that the passage has much more spirit, if we consider that this unskilful boxing was, with the Greeks, who were so generally trained in gymnastic exercises, a standing joke against the barbarians: just as an *Englishman* might laugh at a *Frenchman* or other foreigner. [τοῖς γὰρ βαρβάροις διὰ τὰς τυραννίδας ἀσχυρὸν τοῦτό γε, καὶ ἢ γε φιλοσοφία καὶ ἢ φιλογυμναστικά. Pl. Conv. 182, B. Wæ.] Wolf quotes an illustration from *unskilful boxing*, Aristot. Met. i. cap. iv. vol. viii. p. 10, lin. 21. Sylb. : ἀμυδρῶς καὶ οὐδὲν σαφῶς, ἀλλ' ὅλον ἐν ταῖς μάχαις οἱ ἀγύμναστοι ποιοῦσι. καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνοι περιφερόμενοι τύπτονσι πολλὰκις καλὰς πληγὰς, ἀλλ' οὐτε ἐκείνοι ἀπὸ ἐπιστήμης, οὐτε οὗτοι (οἱ πάλαι φιλοσοφῆσαντες) ἰοικασιν εἰδόσι λίγειν ἢ λίγουσι.—Gellius (Noct. Att. 13, 27) quotes from Panætius, a comparison between a *prudent* politician and a *warry, skilful boxer*: "Vita, inquit, hominum, qui ætatem in medio rerum agunt, ac sibi suisque esse usui volunt negotia periculaque ex improvise assidua et prope quotidiana fert, ad ea cavenda ac declinanda perinde esse oportet animo semper prompto atque intento, ut sunt Athletarum, qui pancratiae vocantur. Nam sicuti illic;" and so on. || τῆς πληγῆς ἔχεται, *clings to the blow*, i. e. immediately moves his arms to the *place struck*. On gen. cf. Gr. 860, p. 167, foot of first col. (670) § 536. || ἐκείσθαι εἰσιν. ἐκείσθαι (= *illuc*) is used rather than ἐκεί, because *motion towards the part in question is implied*: = *there go his hands*. Poeta apud Plut. de garrul. p. 513, E : ὅπου τις ἀλγεί κείσει καὶ τὴν χεῖρ' ἔχει. Sp. || προβάλλεσθαι, sc. τὰς χεῖρας = to defend himself; to ward off the blow. Xen. Cyr. ii. 3, 10 (Pheraulas is speaking): Ἐγὼ ἐκ παιδίου εὐθὺς προβάλλεσθαι ἠπιστάμην πρὸ τούτων, ὅτι πόδην πληγῆσεσθαι, κ.τ.λ.

- D συμπαράθεῖτε, ἄνω κάτω, i. e. *you run up and down* by his side, that is, wherever he marches you take a parallel course.—ἄνω κάτω. So with *καὶ*—*καὶ* or *τε καὶ* (in Ol. 2, § 6, p. 10, D, of my ed.), where Rauchenstein's opinion is given, that the conjunctions are omitted in the more vehement and spirited passages; and Funkhænel's, that the omission belongs to the language of *common life*. I prefer the former solution. || στρατηγεῖσθε—ὑπ' ἐκείνου, because, since you march, as it were, at *his bidding*, you depend upon him for orders, and so make him, in fact, your general. || πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων is further explained by πρὶν ἂν . . . πύθῃσθε (*priusquam . . . audiveritis*). Gr. 1273 (934) § 848, 2, 4. || ἦκει, used impersonally, or rather with reference to such an *indefinite* subject as our "*it has come*," "*things have come*." || ἀκμή = *critical point*; *crisis* (*discrimen*). || ἐγχωρεῖ, sc. ταῦτα.

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- A ἀποκρήν ἔν—δοκεῖ, sc. ταῦτα. || δημοσίᾳ, *publice*. || τοῦ πλείο-

vos, id quod plus est (plura) affectans. Cf. Soph. Oed. C. 36: πρὶν (P. νῦν τὰ πλείων) ἰστορεῖν. F. || ἐκαλέσασθ', may provoke (which is 9). exactly ἐκαλεῖν) you; may provoke your indignation, and call you forth from your lazy inactivity. Cf. Aesch. 2, 3: τὴν ὑμετέραν ὀργὴν ἐκαλέσασθαι. F. || εἴπωρ, if that is; implying ironically that there is some doubt whether his assumption is correct or not. Gr. 1464, note (1053, c) § 734, 3. || ἀπεργασμέναι = to have given up all hope; to have given up every thing in despair. || τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν, from OL 105, 3. F.

ἐλπίδες. Cf. τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἐλπίδας, below, c. With respect B to the order, cf. Or. 51, 19: ὅσ' οἴονται, τὸν ἀπαξ εἰρηκότα ἀν καλώσιον ἀνακτῆ, σφᾶς αὐτοὺς πάντα τὸν βίον καλοῦς κάγαθοὺς νομιζεσθαι. F. || ἤρετό τις, "inquit (v. Bantl. ad Hor. Sat. 1, 4, 78.) Demosthenes fingit aliquem sic interrogasse, sive in ipsa contione, sive antea in familiari de eadem re sermone. Cf. ad § 10." F. || εὐρήσεται, cf. 2, 21. Aperiet et recludet contacta et tumescencia victoriosis partium vulnera bellum ipsum. Tac. Hist. 2, 77. F. || οὐδέποτε οὐδὲν ἡμῖν οὐ μὴ γένηται. Cf. 6, 24, 9, 75, 22, 39: δίκην οὐδέ τις οὐδέμιαν μὴ δῶ. 23, 179: ὅτι τῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν μὴ δυνήθη πρότερον λῦσαι. F. Gr. 797 (633) § 748.

τῆς πόλεως, i. e. στρατιωτῶν οἰκίῶν (B) or τῆς πολιτικῆς δυνάμεως. F. || κἄν μὴ πᾶσα, sc. ἀποσταλῇ. F. || εὐμαρές, sc. ἵστιν αὐτῇ (τῇ πόλει). F. || ψήφισμα κενόν, "i. e. decretos non item conscriptos milites (ἵνα ἀνδρα just below)." F. || ἀπὸ τοῦ β. Cf. v. Andoc. 1, 150: μὴ τοίνυν μὴθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς τῶν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἐλπίδων ἀποστερήσῃτε μὴτ' ἐμὲ τῶν εἰς ὑμᾶς. F. || τεθνᾶσι τῷ δέει (die of fear), here takes irregularly an accusative case, as if the virtual meaning (= are excessively afraid of) had been expressed by a trans. verb, e. g. ὑπερφοβοῦνται. F. compares 9, 24, 19, 81. ὥστε—τεθνᾶναι τῷ φόβῳ Θηβαίους. Soph. Oed. C. 223: δέος ἴσχετε μὴδὲν δσ' ἀδῶ. V. adds Polyb. 1, 39, 12: οὕτως ἦσαν καταφόβοι τοῦς ἐλέφαντας. || ἵνα ἄνδρα, i. e. the unhappy general whom you send out without troops. || δυνήθηναί ποτε, "potuisse utquam de re et facto, ne ἂν desideret." F. || ὑποσχέσθαι, "temere polliceri maxime Chares solebat. Hinc proverbium ortum est: αἱ Χάρηςτος ὑποσχέσις." F.

ἐθελον ἀπορίσθων ἔξω, detached soldiers without pay.—ἀπόμισθοι means often (Dem. contr. Aristocr. § 154) "paid off," "discharged." F. meriti, but cannot have that meaning here. "Non ἀθλίων καὶ ἀπορίσθων: nam miseri dicuntur eo quod sunt ἀπόμισθοι." F. || ὑπέρ. "ψεύδεσθαι ὑπὲρ του mentiri super aliqua re, etiam raro, tamen non minus recte dicitur, quam ψεύδεσθαι περὶ του (Xen. Anab. 7, 6, 15) ἐγκαλεῖν περὶ του, alia." F. || Ἰπ. ῥηδῖως ψευδόμενοι. || τόχητε, sc. ψηφίζεμενοι. || τί καί, "τί χρὴ προσδοκᾶν qui dicit, is quid expectari, non simul an aliquid expectari debeat, quaerit, sed qui τί χρὴ καὶ προσδοκᾶν (quid vel expectari oportet: plene: τί χρὴ οὐ μόνον πράττεσθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἀλλὰ καὶ προσδοκᾶν;) vel τί καὶ χρὴ προσδοκᾶν (quid vel oportet expectari, i. e. τί οὐ μόνον ἔξωτινε δύναιτ' ἂν τις προσδοκᾶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρὴ πρ.), is non solum quid, sed etiam an aliquid expectandum sit, quaerit. Vid.

(P. *Herm.* ad Vig. p. 837. *Weber* ad *Aristocr.* 136." *F.* Cf. *Gr.* 1476, n 9). § 760, 2.

§ 11. [§ 47, p. 53.]

- 11 πῶς. Observe that πῶς, "*how*," is followed, not by an adverb of manner, but by an adv. of time, ὅταν. In this way the certainty of the result is more strongly marked; if the orator can but see *the day when* the Athenians adopt the right political measures, the *how* will be of comparatively little importance; the *right way* will be sure to be discovered. *F.* compares 25, 68: ὁ δ' ἀναιδής ἐκ τίνος ὀνομάσθη τῶν ἄλλων ἄλλ' ἢ ὅταν τὰ μήτε ὄντα μήτ' ἀν γεγόμενα ταῦτα τολμᾷ λῖγειν δι' ἀναίσχυντίαν; || ὅταν ὑμῖς—ἀποδείξητε, i. e. you, the people. || εὐθυνῶν, the examination of the public accounts. *Handbk. Gr. Antiqq.* 108. || τῶν στρατηγῶν. *Sp.* says, that besides *Chares*, who was several times accused (*Æsch.* 2, 71), *Autocles*, *Cephisodotus*, *Leosthenes*, *Callisthenes* (*Æsch.* 2, 30), were thus impeached on capital charges. || κρίνεται περὶ θανάτου, 'is called before you to answer for his life' (*L.*), opp. ἀγωνίσασθαι περὶ θανάτου, to hazard his life in the field. Cf. *Æsch.* 2, 165: τῷ περὶ τοῦ σώματος κρίνονται Φορμίωνα. *Xen. Hell.* 7, 3, 6: ἡμῖς τουτοῖσι—διώκομεν περὶ θανάτου. *F.* || ἐχθροῦς. 'ἐχθροῦς plerumque ut *Latinorum inimicus* ad sentiendi rationem refertur, nec tamen raro etiam pro πολέμιος dicitur, quatenus, qui hostes sunt, etiam inimicis animis affecti esse solent.' *K.*

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- A ἀνδραποδιστῶν καὶ λωποδυτῶν, kidnappers and outpurses. Cf. 9, 22. *Xen. Mem.* 1, 2, 62: κατὰ γὰρ τοὺς νόμους ἰάν τις φανερός γίνηται κλέπτων ἢ λωποδυτῶν ἢ βαλαντιομῶν ἢ τοιχωρυχῶν ἢ ἀνδραποδιζόμενος ἢ ἱεροσυλῶν, τούτοις θάνατός ἐστιν ἢ ζημία. *F.* || περιόντες. See § 2, note. || μετὰ, in conjunction with. The Thebans were envied and hated, both by the Athenians and the Lacedæmonians, on account of the great military pre-eminence which they had enjoyed since the battle of Leuctra (see *De Cor.* § 18, note). The prospect of their destruction, then, even by Philip, must have been a matter of interest to the Athenians, especially as it promised to give him occupation for some time. *C.* || πολιτείας. The verb. *propr.* to denote *democratical states or constitutions. i.* § 5. || διασπῆν [dpt. on φασί, not on πράττειν. *F.*], to tear asunder, annihilate, i. e. in order to establish in their place either monarchical or oligarchical governments. *C.* || οἱ δ' . . . οἱ 84. The proper predicate is not expressed. The orator breaks off suddenly at last, and changes the construction. But the predicate is contained in πλάττοντες . . . περιερχόμεθα. *C.* || ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς. Possibly these rumours were spread by Philip's friends, to persuade the Athenians that his views and schemes were removed to a great distance from Athens. *L.* || τειχίζειν, Philip, before he attacked Olynthus, "per regna mittit et opulentissimas civitates, qui opinionem sererent regem Philipum magna pecunia locare et muros per civitates et fana et templa faciendā, et ut per præcones susceptores sollicitarent. Qui quum in Mace-

doniam tenuissent, variis dilationibus frustrati vim regia maiestatis timentes, (P. taciti proficiscabantur." Justin 8, 3, 7, sqq. *F.* || λόγουε πλάττον. 10). *τες έκαστος, framing our several tales.* L. See De Cor. § 121. || μεθύειν, *to be intoxicated: οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ οἶνου τὸ μεθύω λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀπλῶς ὑβρίζειν καὶ μὴ ἐθίλειν σωφρονεῖν ὑπὸ τινος τυχὸν ἐξουσίας ἢ πλούτου ἢ τοιοῦτου τινὸς ἄλλου,* Thom. Mag. Cf. ad Hor. Carm. 1, 37, 12: "Quidlibet impotens sperare fortunâque dulci *clodia Cleopatra.*" *F.* || ὄνειροπολεῖν κοινὸν γάρ ἐστι τῶν μεθυόντων τὸ ὄνειροπολεῖν. Herm. *F.*

τὴν τ' ἐρημίαν, 3, 27. || οὐ μίντοι γε, "non tamen certe, sc. οἶμαι. B Cf. ad 3, 2. Dicitur etiam οὐ μίντοι—γε, ubi γε ad præcedens vocabulum pertinet (Herm. ad Vig. p. 842): καὶ διέφθειρεν, οὐ μίντοι πᾶσάν γε 21, 16. Cf. 55, 24. *Herbst.* ad Xen. Sympos. 6, 10." *F.* || προαιρεῖσθαι, *sibi proponere solere.* *F.* || ἀφάντες ταῦτ', *missis his (F.), i. e. the rumoured intentions of Philip.* || ἐκαῖνο here relates to what follows (like *ille*). 19, 68: ἀλλ' ἐκαῖνο ἰδίον—ἐντύχημα. τὸ ποῖον; τὸ, κ.τ.λ. || ἀποστερεῖ, i. e. *pergit nostra rapere.* *F.* || τινα, as Charidæmus of Oreos. || καθ' ἡμῶν εὐρεῖται, "sc. πράξας. 25, 7: ὁ μηδεὶς μὲν ἂν αὐτὸς πεποιηκέναι φήσειεν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ψήφοις εὐρεθῇσεται, sc. πεποιηκώς. Verba ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καθ' ἡμῶν ita posuit, ut, quantopere decepti essent, magis attenderent." *F.* || ἐν = *penes.* ἐσόμεθα ἐγνωνκ. Gr. 762 (610) § 375, 4. || οὐ γὰρ—σκοπεῖν, C *depends upon ourselves; is in our own hands, like the λογοποιοῦντες.*

§ 12.

ἐγὼ μὲν. "Tacita opponit alios oratores. V. ad 3, 8. Similiter 12 Nicias apud Thuc. 6, 9, 2: οὔτε ἐν τῷ πρότερον χρόνῳ διὰ τὸ προτιμᾶσθαι εἶπον παρὰ γνώμην οὔτε νῦν, ἀλλ' ὃ ἂν γινώσκω βέλτιστα, ἐγὼ." *F.* || ὑποστειλ. 1, 16. || ἐπ' ἀδήλοισι οὔσι τοῖς—γενησομένοις, i. q. ἐπὶ τῇ ἀδηλίᾳ τῶν—γενησομένων, 'uncertain as is the consequence with respect to me.' L. The ἐπὶ denotes the condition under which he spoke. || ἐπὶ τῷ . . . πεπεισθαι, *quia persuasus sum.*—JN. αἰρουμαι λέγειν.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

ORATIO DE PACE.

THE conquest of Olynthus and the Chaleidic cities, which had placed at the disposal of Philip a line of fortresses along the whole of his southern frontier, and connected his dominions with the sea on that side, was an important step towards the acquisition of that Hegemony, which had so long been the object of his ambition. For its full attainment two things were necessary. In the first place, the occupation of the passes which led into Southern Greece; and, secondly, the possession of the Hellespont and the Thracian Chersonese. In both cases the principal obstacle in his way was Athens. At an earlier period (Ol. 107, 1) an attempt to penetrate the passes had been foiled by the Athenians in conjunction with the Phocians; and with regard to the Chersonese, they were bound by treaties with Kersobleptes, its actual possessor, and still more by their own commercial interests, to resist the occupation of that country by a hostile power. Philip, who was well aware of this, adopted the course best calculated to disarm suspicion. Day after day Athenian citizens, and others who had visited the Macedonian court, recounted the acts of kindness which they had received at his hands, and spoke with enthusiasm of the friendly disposition which he had exhibited towards the people of Athens. The result of these exertions on the part of Philip's friends was not slow in developing itself. In the first year of the 108th Olympiad it was proposed by Philocrates that permission should be granted to Philip to send ambassadors to Athens for the purpose of negotiating a peace; and the next year the Athenians themselves despatched a commission to the court of Macedonia, with full powers to propose such an arrangement. The commissioners were Philocrates, the proposer of the measure, Æschines, Demosthenes, and seven others. They were received with the utmost kindness, and heard from Philip's own mouth the expression of his anxious wish that peace should be concluded as soon as possible, and his promise that ambassadors should be immediately despatched to Athens for that purpose. The commissioners then returned to Athens, and were soon followed by the Macedonian embassy: peace was concluded, and a second commission despatched to

Macedonia to receive the king's oath. Whilst these men, in defiance of the orders received from the Athenian government, were loitering on the road, Philip attacked and overthrew Kersobleptes, took possession of some strong places in the Chersonese, and forcibly detained the commissioners until all his preparations were completed for a campaign against the Phocians. An account of his subsequent proceedings will be found in the third Philippic Oration and the *Oratio de Corona*. The enterprise against Phocia, which had been carried into effect so rapidly, that the news of its complete success reached Athens at the same time as the intelligence of the conclusion of peace at Pheræ, was gratefully acknowledged by a decree of the Amphictyonic council. The Phocians were excluded from the confederation as sacrilegious robbers, their cities depopulated, and all their privileges transferred to the conqueror, as a reward for his exertions in the cause of religion. The news of these unexpected occurrences filled the Athenians with consternation. An immediate invasion was apprehended, and measures adopted for a determined resistance; but no sooner was this apprehension removed, than they contented themselves with offering an asylum to the exiled Phocians. Meanwhile Philip, who had assumed his place in the Amphictyonic council (Ol. 108, 3), had been elected president, and in that capacity superintended the Pythian games as Agonothete. By way of protest against this proceeding, Athens refused to send representatives to the meeting. About this time ambassadors arrived at Athens from Macedonia, with an invitation to the people to pass a resolution to the effect that Philip was duly elected a MEMBER OF THE AMPHICTYONIC COUNCIL. The fate of the Phocians, the approach of a Macedonian army, and the well-known sentiments and increasing power of the Thebans, were so many arguments in favour of the proposal, which was supported by Demosthenes and others. In this oration Demosthenes, after reminding the people of several other occasions on which his predictions had been verified by the event, proceeds to demonstrate, by an induction of present particulars, the absolute necessity of avoiding at this crisis a collision with the other states of Greece. The circumstances under which this oration was delivered are alluded to in the *Oratio de Corona*, where the orator says, "After the defeat of the Phocians the Thessalians and Thebans looked on Philip as their friend, their benefactor, their preserver. He was their all in all; not a word would they hear against him. You, it is true, beheld all this with feelings of disgust; but you stood alone, and, following the only course open to you, concluded a peace with Philip." There can be no doubt, although we have no positive evidence of the fact, that the advice of Demosthenes was followed, and no opposition offered to the admission of Philip into the Amphictyonic confederation. The present oration was delivered, according to Dionysius, in the third year of the 108th Olympiad [perhaps in *August*, Wst.]. These words evidently refer to an oration which was actually spoken, although Libanius, in his Introduction, says that "it was written by Demosthenes, but never, I think, delivered; for one of the principal accusa-

tions which he brings against Æschines is, that he had counselled the admission of Philip into the confederation, a charge which he never would have preferred, if he had himself given the same advice." The passage to which Libanius refers, is in the *Oratio de Falsa Leg.*, and is quite reconcileable with what he says in the *Oration* now under consideration. In order to prove that Æschines, in this instance, was not a dupe, but a traitor, he asserts that no steps whatever have been taken by him to expose the treachery of Philip, of which he was fully aware. "Nor is this, he adds, the only instance of his baseness. On a recent occasion there came Thessalians to Athens, accompanied by Macedonian ambassadors, who invited you to pass a decree sanctioning the admission of Philip into the Amphictyonic confederation. Now who, of all men in the world, was most bound to resist this application? Why this Æschines, who now stands before you. Wherefore? Because Philip's actions have been the very opposite to all that Æschines had taught you to expect. He told you that the walls of Thespiæ and Platææ were to be repaired, the Phocians spared, and the pride of Thebes humbled. Instead of this, the power of the Thebans has been augmented by Philip, the walls of Thespiæ and Platææ remain in ruins, and the Orchomenians and Coroneans have been reduced to the condition of slaves. Can any thing then be more contradictory than Philip's actions and his professions? Yet Æschines uttered not a word of disapprobation. Nay, worse than this, he alone, of all the men in the city, supported the proposal of the ambassadors, and did that which even the infamous Philocrates was ashamed to do. And when his voice was drowned in the murmurs of the indignant citizens, he leaped down from the tribune, and shouted out (in the hearing of Philip's ambassadors), There are grumblers enough now; but few of them, when the time comes, will be ready to take up arms." The object of Demosthenes here is to establish the fact, that Æschines has sold himself to the king, and in proof of this he brings forward the circumstances of his having offered no opposition to the proposal of the Macedonian ambassadors: not that this was in itself a crime, but because his conduct, when the treachery of Philip was disclosed by the ambassadors, was sufficient evidence of his own guilty knowledge; for if he had been the dupe of Philip, instead of his creature, he would surely never have supported one who had already proved so faithless. Leland and Auger, who are also of opinion that this oration was actually delivered, meet the doubts of Libanius by the very judicious remark, that Demosthenes did not advise the Athenians to recognize the election of Philip as valid, but simply implored them not to offer an unavailing opposition.

* * * *

NOTES

TO THE

ORATIO DE PACE.

PAGE 11, § 1. [§ 1, p. 57.]

ὁρῶ μὲν, opp. οὐ μὴν ἀλλά, near the end of Δ. || δυσκολίαν ἔχων, (P. cf. n. on δυσκόλου just below.—ἔχων = *to involve*. || *προεῖσθαι*, ec. 11). ἡμᾶς, *hanc lei go, are attended with, and have flung away, i.e. have lost* | *by our negligence* (al. *προεῖσθαι*, per incuriam amissa esse perf.). Δ || *προὔργου* = *πρὸ ἔργου*, implying *furtherance* or *progress with a task*; hence = ‘*of use*.’ Arist. Met. cap. 7, § 6, *ἔστι γὰρ τι πρὸ ἔργου πρὸς τὴν περὶ τῆς οὐσίας σκίψιν* (i.e. *est pro opere, operas pretium est, utile est, confert*). So *πρὸ ὁδοῦ*, Luc. Herm. cap. 1, vol. i., *αἰ σπουδαῖόν τι πράττων καὶ ὃ πρὸ ὁδοῦ σοι γένοιτ’ ἂν εἰς τὰ μαθήματα*. V. || ἀλλὰ καὶ . . . ἡγείσθαι are made to depend on ὁρῶ, instead of being opposed to τῷ προεῖσθαι by the article τῷ repeated: ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἡγείσθαι. F. quotes a similar anacoluthon in Dem. Or. 23, 125: *εἰ γὰρ ἐστὶ τῷ δοτίον τι τοιοῦτον, πρῶτον μὲν τῷ μηδὲν ἡδικησέν τι πῶποτε, δεύτερον δὲ μηδ’ ἂν ἀδικεῖν βούληται δυνησομένης*. || *κατὰ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἔν, eodem modo ne in unâ quidem re*. Sch.—*κατὰ ταῦτα ἡγείσθαι* = *to think alike; to agree in opinion*. ‘*Do not in any single point agree in their views of what is expedient*.’ || *δυσκόλου* . . . καὶ *χαλεποῦ*. *δύσκολος*, prop. *perverse, cross-grained*; of actions = *unpleasant*. F. compares a similar combination, in which an improper is prefixed to a proper term, in Cic. in Cæcil. 11: “*intelligo, quam scopoloso difficultique in loco versar*.”

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πρὸ τῶν πρ., *prius quam agendum sit*. F. || *παρὰ πάντα τὰν χρόνον*. The *παρὰ* properly denotes *parallel co-extension*; hence *during*. *τι τοῦτ’ ἐπικρατεῖ παρὰ ταῦτα* = *during this, all this*

- (P. time. || συμβαίνει, pres., because the orator implies that this *has been* happening all along, and is perpetually happening still. || οἷς = τοῦτοίς δ'. || τὰ δὲ πράγ. καὶ περὶ ὧν, κ.τ.λ., "*occasiones rerum gerendarum et (eoque s. simulque) ea, de quibus (vel defendendis vel occupandis) deliberatis, perditis.*" F. || οὐ μὴν ἀλλά, Gr. 1144, α (1053, α) § 774, 6. || πεπεικὼς ἑμαυτὸν, Gr. 730 (586, c) § 363, 4. || θορυβεῖν, like the Lat. *clamor*, is a *vox media*, sometimes denoting *clamorous assent*, sometimes (as here) *clamorous dissent*. || ὑπὲρ πόλεως. On the omission of the article cf. Gr. 673 (543) § 447, obs. || ἔξιν (= that I shall be able) dpt on οἶομαι καὶ πεπεικὼς ἑμαυτὸν ἀνίστηκα.
- B τὰ προσιμένα σωθήσεται, "*amissa servantur, quum recuperantur.*" Cf. 6, 15. 8, 3. 19, 6, ὧν (καιρὸν) εἰάν τις ἐκὼν καθυψῇ τοῖς ἐναντίοις καὶ προδῇ, οὐδ' ἂν οἰοῦν ποιῇ πάλιν οἷός τ' ἔσται σῶσαι. Sch.

§ 2. [§ 4, p. 57.]

- 2 εἰδώς = καίπερ εἰδώς. F. || τῶν πάνυ λυσιτελούντων, i.e. is one of the most successful topics. || τοῖς τολμῶσιν, sc. λέγειν περὶ, κ.τ.λ. || ὧν, Gr. 1110 (843) § 684, ii. || νομίζω . . . ἂν ὑμᾶς . . . κρίναι. On aor. inf. cf. Gr. 1087—9 (830) § 405, obs. 2. || ἐγὼ γάρ. On this inceptive (or explicative) γάρ, cf. Pr. Intr. ii. 173. || πρῶτον μὲν respondet v. πάλιν, § 6. F. || ἐπειθ' is 3rd pl. = *they were for persuading you; tried to persuade you*. The imperf. *de conatu*. Gr. 770 (603) § 398, 2. He alludes principally, as it would seem, to Midias, the guest-friend of Plutarchus, and opponent of Demosthenes. || Πλουτάρχῃ. "Philip, having landed troops in Euboea (Ol. 106, 3) for the protection of Clitarchus against Plutarchus, tyrant of Eretria, the latter immediately applied to Athens for assistance. Notwithstanding the vehement opposition of Demosthenes (Or. c. Mid.), Phocion was sent with a considerable force (Ol. 106, 4) to the assistance of Plutarchus. On his arrival in Euboea, the Athenian general found (as we are told by his biographer, Vit. Phocion. c. 12) the island full of traitors; but, in spite of the vexations and hardships to which his army was exposed, he defeated the enemy at Tamynæ, and expelled Plutarchus from Eretria, probably by way of punishment for some act of treachery of which he had been convicted. Æschines also (Or. c. Ctes. p. 480) speaks of the treason of the Chalcidians at Tamynæ, but ascribes it to Callias, who had drawn together a body of native and Macedonian troops to oppose the Athenians. On the other hand, Ulpian (notes to the Orat. c. Mid.) asserts that Plutarchus had thrown Athenian soldiers into prison. After the expulsion of this tyrant, the inhabitants of Eretria were divided between Athens and Macedonia; and, the Macedonian party having obtained the ascendancy, Philip took possession of the city (Or. tert. c. Phil.). The time of these last occurrences cannot be settled with any exactness; but thus much is certain, that, in Ol. 109, 3, Clitarchus, the tyrant established by Philip (Or. tert. Phil.; Or. p. Cor.), was engaged in a war with the Athenians, and was expelled from Euboea. Diodor. 16, 74." J.

πρώτος καὶ μόνος, a common formula : also *conteracy*, cf. 19, 302. (P. καὶ μόνος καὶ πρῶτος ἰδών. || μόνον οὐ (tantum non) = *all but*. || ἐπὶ 12.) marks condition = *for*. || λήμματα are generally *low, base gains* (= c *parvi lucelli causâ*. Wolf). || πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα. Gr. 1476, c. § 759, 2. || μετὰ τοῦ, κ.τ.λ. "Proprie : una cum contracto dedecore et acceptis injuriis cognovistis horum improbitatem, i. e. cognovistis eam ita, ut simul ignominiam contraheretis cett." F. || τῶν ὄντων ἀνθ., "*homium, qui (quotquot) sunt (vivunt)*." F. || τὸν ὑποκριτήν. "For an account of the actor Neoptolemus, one of the chief originators of the negotiations with Philip, see Dem. Or. de Falsa Leg. 10. Having placed his property in safety, he visited Macedonia, and during his residence there, accidentally, in a song, predicted the death of the king. Diodor. 16, 92 and 93. A saying of his respecting the tragical revolution in the fortunes of Philip is preserved in Stobæus (Flor. Tit. 98, 70). The notices concerning him in ancient writers have been collected by Leopardus, Emendat. ix. 15." J.

δοικούντα Φιλίππῳ, i. q. πολιτευόμενον ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου (2, 4). F. D. Jn. εἶπον (not παρελθών) εἰς ὑμᾶς. So 24, 47 : οὐκ εἰς τὴν βουλὴν, οὐκ εἰς τὸν δῆμον εἰπὼν οὐδέν. Ws. || οὐκέτ', non jam. || οὐδὰ εἰς, "ne unus quidem, οὐδείς nullus, οὐχ εἰς non unus sed plures." Vöm. || ἐν Διογύσσῳ, sc. ἱερῷ, i. e. ἐν τῷ θεατρῷ. F. || τοῦτό γε, sc. ὅτι — ἐποίησατο. Gr. 1012 (793, π. 8) § 656, 6, 3a. || τὴν . . . ἀφίξιν . . . ἐποίησατο, i. e. ἀπῆλθεν. F.

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τὰς εὐπορίας, "*opes suas*. 20, 26 : τὰς εὐπορίας, ἀς—εὐπορήσειν ἅ οὗτοι φήσουσιν." F. || ἀδείας, sc. τοῦ ἐξαργυρίζειν, κ.τ.λ. "*quum primum autem facta pace tuto id facere potuit*." Wolf. || φανεράν' ἀφανὴς οὐσία denoted money retained at home, or placed in the hands of a banker : φαν. (= ἐγγίσιος) οὐσία was "*real property*," land, houses, &c. Hence ἀφανίζων τὴν οὐσίαν = ἐξαργυρίζων (Æsch. 1, 103). || δύο μὲν. "*Duo hæc ex iis, quæ ego prædixi (de expeditione in Eubœam suscepta et de Neoptolemi prodicione), quia recte et juxta, qualia erant (i. e. veritati congruenter), a me declarata sunt, testantur pro orationibus a me habitis*." F. || τὸ τρίτον δ'. Jn. τὸ τρίτον δέ, ἥνικα—ἤκομεν, φανήσομαι—προειπών, as above : πρῶτον μὲν, ἥνικ' ἐπειθον, ἀντίπῳ. F. || καὶ δὴ (protenus), at once, immediately. Gr. 1459, b, 2. § 721, d. || τινων, especially Æschines and Philocrates. Cf. 6, 30. 19, 112 : οὗτος (Æschines) μὲν γὰρ ἐφ' ἑσπιδίᾳ καὶ Πλαταιᾷ αὐτὸν τειχεῖν καὶ τοὺς μὲν Φωκίας οὐκ ἀπολεῖν, τὴν δὲ Θηβαίων ὕβριν καταλύσειν' ὁ δὲ (Philippus) τοὺς μὲν Θηβαίους μείζους ἢ προσῆκε πεποιήκε, τοὺς δὲ Φωκίας ἀρδὴν ἀπολώλεκε, καὶ τὰς μὲν Θεσπιδίᾳ καὶ Πλαταιαῖς οὐ τετείχικε, τὸν δὲ Ὀρχομενὸν καὶ τὴν Κορώνειαν προσεξηγνδραπόδισται. F. "The occurrences to which these words relate, have been already mentioned in the Introduction. Whilst the Athenian commission, appointed to administer the oath to Philip, were on their way to Macedonia, Philip prosecuted his plans in Thrace, and, after his return, detained the ambassadors until his preparations were completed for an expedition against Phocis. Æschines (Or. de Falsa Leg. p. 283) asserts that'

Phil. Dem.

(P. on this occasion, he did all in his power to dissuade the king from 13), adopting violent measures. Philip, who was accompanied on his
 ▲ march by the Athenian ambassadors, took the oath at Phæræ in Thessaly (Dem. de F. Leg.), excluding, however, the Phocians from the confederacy, on the plea of their having been condemned by a sentence of the Amphictyonic council. At the same time a secret assurance was given to the ambassadors that he would meet the wishes of Athens with reference to Phocis, as soon as it was in his power (Dem. de F. Leg. p. 390, 25). With this assurance, and bearing letters from the king, in which he took on himself the whole blame of the delay, the ambassadors returned to Athens. Considerable excitement having been produced by the intelligence that Philip had advanced as far as the passes, Æschines endeavoured to appease the people by the assurance that the king's intention was simply to humble the Thebans, restore the Boeotian cities, Thespiæ and Platææ, to the position which they had formerly occupied, and deliver up Eubœa to the Athenians (Or. de F. Leg. 347; pro Cor. 237, 5; contra Phil. ii. p. 73, 2). It was to no purpose that these assertions were contradicted by Demosthenes—the Athenians were but too ready to listen to the fair words of his rival; and even the Phocians fell unresistingly into the toils prepared for them by Philip. The following extract from the Or. de Fals. Leg., in which Demosthenes contrasts the faithless promises of his fellow-ambassador with the actual result, will serve to explain the circumstance to which we have alluded: 'In this manner, and by such arts as these, have unprincipled men brought ruin on the state. Instead of seeing Thespiæ and Platææ restored to independence, you receive intelligence of the subjugation of Orchomenus and Coronæa: instead of Thebes being humbled, and her overweening arrogance chastised, the cities of the Phocians, your allies, are laid waste: instead of receiving back Orôpus, you are forced to defend Drymus and the land of Panactus: instead of offering sacrifice, as their fathers did, and collecting funds for the service of the sanctuary, the real Amphictyons are wanderers on the face of the earth, whilst their places are occupied by Macedonians and barbarians, who in former days were deemed utterly unworthy of such an honour.' J. || οἰκισθήσονται. "That Thespiæ and Platææ were to be repopled. Thespiæ had been twice destroyed by them; once, when Archidamus, king of Sparta, obliged the Platæans to surrender at discretion, in the fifth year of the Peloponnesian war. The Thebans, who were then joined with Lacedæmon, insisted that they should be exterminated. The treaty of Antalcidas restored them; but this did not last long: for, three years before the battle of Leuctra, the Thebans reduced them to their former wretched state, because they refused to join with them against the Lacedæmonians." Tourneil.

B κύριος, sc. τῶν πραγμάτων: si res in suum arbitrium venissent. F. || διοικεῖν (would exterminate), "dissipaturum, in pagos redacturum." Wolf. Διοικεῖν ἀντὶ τοῦ διαρρήσειν, ὥστε μὴ ἐν ταύτῃ πάντα οἰκεῖν, ἀλλὰ χωρὶς καὶ κατὰ μέρος. Harpocr. Cf. 19, 325: ἀντὶ τοῦ τὰς θήβας ταπεινὰς γενέσθαι καὶ περιαιρεθῆναι τὴν ἕβριν καὶ τὸ

φρόνη' αὐτῶν τὰ τῶν συμμάχων τῶν ὑμετέρων Φωκίων τείχη κατ- (P. *ισκάπτειτο*. Θηβαῖοι δ' ἦσαν οἱ κατασκάπτοντες, οἱ διοικισθέντες 13). ὑπ' Αἰσχίνου τῷ λόγῳ. F. || Ὁρώπῳ. "Orópus had been taken from the Athenians in Ol. 103, 3, by Themision, tyrant of Eretria, and afterwards put into the hands of the Thebans. Their common pretensions to this city had often embroiled the two states. *Tourreil*. || καὶ τοιαύτας ἔλπ. κ. φαν., these accusatives depend (by *zeugma*) on ὑπισχνουμένων. F. Gr. 1398 (1006) § 895, d. || ἐπαχθέντες. ἐπάγεσθαι = *adduci ad aliquid* (cf. 3, 31, 8, 62), ἐπάγεσθαι, *sensum vel inscium duci* (cf. 6, 34). F. || οὐδέν, "nil, i. e. nulla in re." F. || φανήσομαι = *shall be found*, i. e. if you recall the particulars of what then took place, i. e. οὐτ' αὐτὸς λέγων ἐξηπάτησα οὕτε λεγόντων ἄλλων ἐσίγησα, καὶ οὕτως εἶσα ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατηθῆναι. *Rak*. || οἷδ' ὅτι (= *I know*), a formula parenthetically introduced without affecting the construction. οὐτ' ἂν ὑμεῖς οἷδ' ὅτι ἐπαύσασθε πολεμοῦντες. Phil 2, 29.

§ 3. [§ 11, p. 59.]

φαίνομαι . . . προορῶν, *I manifestly foresee; it is plain that I foresee*. || οὐδ' εἰς μίαν, *ne in ullam quidem*. V. || δεινότητα. "Arist. Eth. Eud. V. 12, sq.: ἡ δεινότης ἐστὶ τοιαύτη, ὥστε τὰ πρὸς τὸν ὑποκειμένα σκοπὸν συντείνοντα δύνασθαι ταῦτα πράττειν καὶ τυγχάνειν αὐτῶν. Plat. Def. p. 413: Δεινότης' διαθέσις, καθ' ἣν ὁ ἔχων στοχαστικός ἐστι τοῦ ἰδίου τέλους." Inde δεινότης *sæpe est eloquentia absolutæ, cui nemo non pareat*." V.

ἀλαζονείαν, *arrogant assumption*. "Verbum ἀλαζονεία proprium c. i. q. sibi simulatione aliquid *eindicare*. Platon. Def. p. 416: 'Ἀλαζονεία' ἔξις προσποιητικὴ ἀγαθοῦ ἢ ἀγαθῶν τῶν μὴ ὑπαρχόντων. Εἰρωνεία proprie dicitur, i. q. sibi aliquid tribuere *dissimulatione*." V. || ἐπανοίωσω, (referam) *shall ascribe*. || πλὴν δι' . . . δύο. "Nisi ob duas causas, quas vobis exponam." Wolf. "Sed id potius sic dicendum erat: πλὴν δι' ἃ ὑμῖν ἐρῶ δύο, sive non admissa attractione πλὴν διὰ δύο, ἃ ὑμῖν ἐρῶ. Nunc hoc dicit orator: nisi ob (ea) quæcunque vobis dicam, quæ duo sunt." F. || ἕτερον δέ, προῖκα, "ne particulam ὅτι desideres, cf. 41, 7 sq.: ἐν μὲν τοίνυν, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, τοῦτ' ἐστίν — ἕτερον δ', ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, δύο μὲν μνᾶς ἐμαρτύρησεν, κ.τ.λ." F. || προῖκα, i. e. οὐ δωροδοκῶν. F. || JN. καὶ οὐδεὶς ἂν ἔχοι δεῖξαι οὐδὲν λήμμα προσρητημένον πρὸς τοῦτοις ἃ ἐγὼ πεπολίτευμαι = τῇ ἐμῇ πολιτείᾳ, *conjunctum cum meâ rei publicæ administratione*. F. Cf. τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα πολιτευομένοις, 20, 183. "In the Oratio de Cor. Demosthenes declares, still more emphatically, that neither by flattery, nor by splendid promises, has he ever been turned aside from the path of duty." J. || ὀρθόν, κ.τ.λ. JN. τὸ συμφέρον ὅ τι ἂν . . . πραγμάτων ὀρθὸν φαίνεται μοι, lit. *your interest . . . is seen by me upright*, i. e. not warped or distorted by self-interest or by ends. The Lat. translation (*recta in oculos meos incurrit*) is followed literally by Leland: '*your true interest strikes my eye directly*.' || ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὑπάρχει τῶν πραγμάτων opposed to what private feelings and interests put into the circumstances, or imagine

(P. themselves to see in them. || ἐπὶ θάτερα, on the one side; into one scale, as it were: reason or judgement, λογισμός, or τὸ κρίνειν καὶ λογιζέσθαι τὰ πράγματα, must be supposed to be placed in the other scale. || οἴχεται φέρον, sc. τὸν λογισμὸν: *judicium hominis abtulit et ad se detraxit*. F.

D δ τοῦτο ποιήσας = ὁ προσενέγκας ἀργύριον πρὸς τὸν τῶν πραγμάτων λογισμὸν καὶ διαχειρισμὸν. *Rak.*

§ 4. [§ 13, p. 60.]

4 ὑπάρχειν . . δεῖν, ought to be secured. || σύνταξιν, tribute, a milder term than φόρος. "Ἐλεγον ἐκάστους φόρους συντάξεις, ἐπειδὴ χαλεπῶς ἔφερον οἱ Ἕλληνες τὸ τῶν φόρων ὄνομα. Harpocr. (F.) || ἄλλο, i. q. ἄλλο τι. Cf. 8, 44. 9, 67: ὡς ἀποπον ποίω, 45, 51. Cf. Mätz. ad Lyc. 70. ad Din. 2, 15. F. || ὅποια τίς. Gr. 1027, 1028 (800) § 659, 4. || JN. μὴ γενέσθαι (sc. τὴν εἰρήνην) μᾶλλον εἶχε καιρὸν τοῖς πράγμασι ἢ γεγενημένην λυθῆναι νῦν δι' ἡμᾶς. V.—F. reads γεγενημένη. || μᾶλλον εἶχε καιρὸν, κ.τ.λ., εἶχε for εἶχεν ἄν. Gr. 790 (632) § 858, 3: "it were (= would have been) more for the interest of your affairs that it had never been concluded, than that now, when it is concluded, you should infringe it." Leland. || δι' ἡμᾶς, through you = by your fault. || ὃν ὑπαρχόντων, to be resolved by a conditional clause. || δεύτερον δέ, sc. φημι δεῖν. || ὁρῶν ὅπως μὴ προαξόμεθα [Gr. 1313 (954) § 811], we must be careful not to drive those to extremities, &c. (L.)—ὅπως μὴ προαξόμεθα, no prodeamus, a propellamus = adducamus. F.

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A φάσκοντας . . εἶναι. [Gr. Syn. 310.] "The tumultuous assembling of the Amphictyons (Ol. 108, 3) by Philip, who took care that none but his own partisans should be summoned, was not recognized by the Athenians as a regular convocation of the Amphictyonic body. Neither they nor the Lacedæmonians were represented in the council, and therefore were not bound to admit the validity of the sentence of exclusion passed on their allies the Phocians, or to sanction the admission of Philip into the confederation (Dem. de F. Leg.). It was only the peculiar circumstances of the case which induced Demosthenes in this oration to propose the recognition of Philip as one of the Hellenes." J. || οὐ μὴ μετέχουσιν μὴ is used rather than οὐ, because it is used hypothetically as characterizing the ἔγλημα but μετίχουσι, not μετίχουν, because it does not characterize it indefinitely (any charge of such a kind, that the Argives, &c. have nothing to do with it), but refers to a particular class of cases and interests, the question of Amphipolis and all similar questions with which the Argives have really nothing to do. || μοι μὴ θορυβήσῃ, don't assail with clamours (clamorous disapprobation). This antioipative request is called προδιόρθωσις. Cf. 8, 32. 13, 3: καὶ μοι μὴ θορυβήσῃτε ἐφ' ᾧ μέλλω λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἀκούσαντες κρίνατε. 57, 50: καὶ μοι πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν μηδεὶς θορυβήσῃ μηδ' ἐφ' ᾧ μέλλω λέγειν

ἀχθεσθῇ. *F.* || ἴσων ἀκρίβως. Observe the transition from the (*P.* form of a dependent clause (with ὥς) to that of a principal sentence; 14). i. e. instead of saying, *not because they are well-disposed to us, &c., but because they know, &c.,* he makes the latter clause a distinct proposition, *but they know.* || εἰ καὶ πάντῃ φησὶ τις, *si quis cel maxime contendit.* *F.* || ἀναισθήτους. "Cf. 6, 19. 18. 43: οἱ μὲν κατὰ πᾶστας Θερταλοὶ καὶ ἀναίσθητοι Θηβαῖοι φίλον ἐτεργίην σωτῆρα τὸν Φίλιππον ἤγουντο. The stupid dulness of the Boeotians was proverbial. Cf. Pind. Olymp. 6, 151 (89). Hor. Epist. 1, 244." *F.* "At this time the Thebans honoured Philip as their friend, preserver, and benefactor, on account of the important services which he had rendered to their city." *J.* || τοῖς δ' ἀγαθοῖς ἀπεδρεύων ἔτερος καθιέδεται, "the advantage others will lie ready to intercept" (*L.*)—ἰφιέρος was the combatant in reserve, who was to contend with the victor, wearied with his previous contest. "Auger understands these words of the Lacedæmonians, who anticipated the restoration of their former greatness as a necessary consequence of the humiliation of Thebes. Becker understands them of Philip." *J.*

οὐκ οὖν. Gr. 1495 (1053, ο) § 791, obs. || πρῶτον. "Optativi hæc forma in optimis codicibus et h. l. est et 18, 254. 21, 212. κατὰ θεοιο 61, 2. Cf. 6, 8, 12." *F.*—πρῶτον. Bk. προῖν. Cf. Gr. 445 (360) i. § 269, 4, obs. 4. || εἰς τοῦτο, i. e. εἰς τὸ πολέμειν. *F.* || τοὺς βοηθοῦντας. The present participle with the article is occasionally used with reference to the future; thus 42, 15, πολλοὺς ποιήσετε τοὺς καταγελῶντας. Isocr. 8, 139, ὥστ' οὐκ ἀπορήσομεν, μεθ' ὧν καλύσομεν τοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνοντας, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς ἔξομεν τοὺς ἐτοίμους καὶ προθύμους συναγωνιζομένους ἡμῖν. *F.* || ἄν . . . βοηθῆν. Gr. 1087 (830) § 405, obs. 2. || εἰς τὴν αἰκίαν, i. e. into the country of one of the leading states in the war, that of the Thebans or Athenians. The reference is not to the country of each allied state. || οὐ συν-επιστρατεύσαν. On the οὐ (which strongly opposes the notion affirmed and that denied), cf. Gr. 1168, α. || τοῦτον . . . τὸν τρόπον. The οὐτος (and so the following τοιοῦτος) relates to the statement about to be made (οὐκ ἄχρι, κ.τ.λ.). Gr. 1011 (793) § 655, 6. || ἄν καὶ φροντίσαν ἄν τις. This clause is a further (here a restrictive) definition of αἱ συμμαχίαι, "the alliances, those, that is, to which a man would attach any importance." He alludes, not to alliances in general (as Leland, absurdly enough, translates the passage), but to the particular alliances which each of the parties in question had contracted. The passage is a good instance of the kind of tacit reference which καὶ, when thus used, implies. Such alliances as a man (would not merely mention in an enumeration, but) also would think important. || ἄχρη τῆς ἑαυτοῦ (sc. πόλεως), lit. no state is equally well affected towards either us or the Thebans, that we should both be safe ourselves and rule over other states; that is, no state is equally ready to assist us in attaining both these objects, our own security and sovereign power over other states: on the contrary, if we were to aim at sovereign power over other states, they would not feel that attachment to our cause that they do exhibit when we fight for our own safety.—The infinitives οὕς τε εἶναι καὶ κρατεῖν τῶν ἄλλων denote, by a loose kind of *epize-*

(P. *gaie*, the *purpose* with reference to which the assistance of the allied 14). states was required. On the decl. of *ὥς*, cf. Gr. 183 (130) i. § 126, obs. 5. || *ὥς μὲν εἶναι*, sc. *τοὺς ἐαυτῶν συμμάχους ἡμᾶς ἢ Θηβαίους*. F.

c *κρατήσαντας . . . τοὺς ἐτέρους*, "ut supra *κρατεῖν τῶν ἄλλων*. Ita Thucyd. eodem capite (lib. i. cap. 109) variat structuram, *κρατεῖν τῆς Αἰγύπτου et κρατεῖν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους*. Beckius contra, '*τοὺς ἐτέρους non ita accipiendum est, ut antea κρατεῖν τῶν ἄλλων, sed sensus est: nolunt alios [alteros], victoria potius, suos fieri dominos.*'" V. Beck's explanation is to be preferred. So F. || *τί οὖν, κ.τ.λ.* This form of *interrogating himself* is common in Dem. || *μὴ . . . λάβῃ*. Æsch. Prom. 390, *τούτου φυλάσσω μὴ πορ' ἀχθεσθῇ κίαρ*. Id. Suppl. 493, *φύλαξαι, μὴ θράσος τίς τε φόβον*. Funkh. || *δὲ μὲλλον π.* "Bellum hoc quod agitur." Wolfius. Dem. does not hesitate to assume the future renewal of the war with Philip. F. || *πρὸς ἅπαντας* is to be joined to *λάβῃ*. || *Μεγαλοπολίται*. Whilst the Thebans were engaged in the Holy War, the Lacedæmonians were trying to recover their Hegemony. Diod. (16, 34, 39) mentions a battle between them and the Argives and Megalopolitans, aided by the Sicyonians and Messenians. "Lucchesini supposes that Dem. is speaking of the embassy, by which the Athenians sent an offer of assistance to Sparta after the battle of Leuctra (Ol. 104, 2). See Xen. Hist. Gr. vi. 5, 33. It seems, however, probable, that Demosthenes was thinking of some other embassy, which took place at a subsequent period." J. || *διὰ τὴν . . . ἐπικηρυκίαν* = *διὰ τὸ ἡμᾶς ἐπικηρυκίσσασθαι πρὸς Λακιδαιμονίους*, "quia nos cum Lacedæmoniis per præcones egimus." V. Though the verb is common, this is an *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον*.—*Ἐπικηρυκία* τὸ περὶ φιλίας καὶ διαλλαγῶν κήρυκας πέμπειν. Harpocr. (referring to this passage.) || *ἡμῖν* depends on *ἐχθρῶς σχήσουσιν*, but is placed before *ἐπικηρυκίαν*, to make *Λακιδαιμονίους* strike the ear more emphatically. F. V. makes it refer to this notion, but also to be (virtually) = a *gen.*; for which purpose R. would understand *οὖσαν* or *ὑπάρχουσαν*. || *καὶ τὸ δοκεῖν* = *καὶ διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν*. || *ἐκδέχεσθαι* = "aliquid ab altero accipere quod ipse deinde tractandum suscipias," to take up any thing that they (*ἐκείν* = the Lacedæmonians) have done; to carry it out, &c.—F. compares *ἐκδέχ. λόγον* to take up the discourse when another ceases speaking.

D *τοὺς Φωκίων φυγάδας*. "Several Boeotian cities (Coronæa, Orchomenus, Corsiæ, &c., Diod. 16, 58), which had formed an alliance with Phocis at the first outbreak of the sacred war, in the hope of being thus enabled to make head against the Thebans, were delivered over to Thebes by Philip at the end of the war. Demosthenes, therefore, is here speaking of those unfortunate persons who had sought an asylum at Athens from the vengeance of their enemies. This was permitted by Philip to the inhabitants of Orchomenus, notwithstanding the opposition of the Thebans and Thessalians. Æschines de F. Legat." J. || *κωλύμεν* = *endeavour to prevent*, sc. by not sending ambassadors to the Amphictyonic council. F. || *ἀγάγωσι* "ἀγειν πόλεμον" e rarioribus est. Sch. Ne intellige:

gerant bellum nobiscum; sed: insolant in nos. Dem. Cor. p. 275, (P. § 143, πόλεμον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν εἰσάγεις (Var. αἰγεις), Αἰσχίνη, πόλεμον Ἀμφικτυονικόν." V. || προστησάμενοι· προφασίζεμενοι, προεταίεοντο. Dem. c. Timoc. p. 709 sq., τὴν διοίκησιν καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐορτῆς προστησάμενοι. V. || ἐπισπασθῶσιν· ἐρελευσθῶσιν (should be δρῶσιν on το, &c.). Ulpius. "Schol. ad Thuc. 4, 9, ἐπισπάσασθαι αὐτοὺς ἡγεῖτο προθυμῆσθαι. R." V. || ἄνευ, beyond, hence virtually against. || περὶ Φωκίας. "After the conquest of Phocia, their ancient enemies the Thessalians, so far from being satisfied with the destruction of their cities and the devastation of the whole country (Pausan. x. 2, 1. Æschines de F. Legat. 308), demanded the extermination of the Phocian race; and, in order to effect that object, proposed that all the young Phocians should be hurled headlong from the rocks (Æschin. de F. Leg. p. 310). The Amphictyons pronounced sentence of outlawry against the fugitive Phocians, and all others who had taken part in the robbing of the temple. Diodor. 16, 60." J. || δῆπου, opinor. Gr. 1461 (1053, d) § 724, 2. || οὐχὶ ταῦτα . . . ἐπεουδακόντες, did not each of them make the same result the principal object of their actions, though they acted in concert. || ὡς = as for instance; thus. || παρὰ Πυλῶν. It was after his actually passing through the straits of Thermopylae, that he occupied the forts, &c. that commanded it, which are the πόροισι alluded to. || οὐδέ γε, "nec certe quidem." Dem. Fala. Leg. 399, οὐδέ γε . . . ἴσον ἔσ' ἀδίκημα. Philip, who came in (as the ἐφέρας) when the worst of the war was over, gained the glory of terminating it.

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αἰσχιστά. "Besides the loss of reputation, there was obvious a danger to her independence in the course pursued by Thebes in this war: but the immediate advantages were great, and for the sake of these she did not hesitate to impose a disgraceful yoke on herself and the rest of Greece. 'They have obtained peace,' says Demosthenes (de F. Leg. 384, 29), 'whilst they were groaning under the burden of war: they have witnessed the ruin of their enemies, and the destruction of the cities which those enemies inhabited, and not only this, but they have obtained possession also of Orchomenus, and Coronæa, and Coroneæ, and Tilphosseum, and every other district of the land of Phocia on which they had set their hearts.'" J. || οὐδὲν ἂν . . . εἶναι. The ἂν belongs to εἶναι = οὐδὲν ἂν ἦν αὐτοῖς ὧν ἐπιθύμουν λαβεῖν, "nihil iis futurum fuisse videbatur: nihil habitum fuisse putabantur (tum, quum illa acta sunt)." F. || πολῶσαι λέγειν. "See note, p. 85, A. Besides the hireling friends of Macedonia, there were many persons at Athens, who believed, what they earnestly desired, that Philip's object was to tame the LEUCTRAN PRIDE (as Diodorus, 16, 58, calls it) of the Thebans. Even Demosthenes himself was for a long time ignorant of the king's real intentions." J. || ἐρῶσθαι λέγω, an ironical form of wishing a person good morning, i.e. of dismissing him as one with whom we do not wish to have any thing to do. Dem. 18, 153, ἐρῶσθαι φράσας πολλὰ Κιρράοις καὶ Λοκροῖς. || σὺ μᾶλλον . . . ἤ, "non minus . . . quam. Lex. Xen. a. v. μᾶλλον Nro. 13.

(P. Thuc. 7, 69, ὃ μὲν οὐχ ἱκανὰ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀναγκαῖα νομίσας παρη-
15) νῆσθαι." V.

B τὴν δόξαν τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ δοκεῖν, i.e. *the glory of the war* (the
glory, that is) of being thought, &c. The τοῦ δοκεῖν is an *exegetical*
apposition to τοῦ πολέμου. || δι' αὐτόν. "Sua opera (cf. me autem,
propter quæ ceteri liberi sunt, tibi liberum non visum demiror. Cic.
Fam. 7, 27), infra δι' αὐτοῦ *per se*, i.e. *ipse*, ut non essent alii, quo
ludos Delphicos administrarent. V. ad 6, 6." F. || κρίσις, *its deci-*
sion; properly a medical term: ἡ μὲν κρίσις ὀξύρροπος ἐστὶν ἐν
νόσῳ μεταβολὴ πρὸς ὑγίειαν ἢ θάνατον. Cf. Foës. Econ. Hippocr.
|| τὰ Πύθια. "For the right of the Amphictyons to the presidency
at the Pythian games, see Titmann, p. 109. In the meeting held
Ol. 108, 3, this privilege was expressly secured to the king (Diodor.
16, 20), and thus the way was prepared for his elevation (Ol. 110, 3)
to the rank of commander-in-chief of the Grecian armies. Cf. the
third Orat. c. Phil." J. || Θερταλοί. "The Thessalians, who had
been members of the Amphictyonic council from time immemorial,
were excluded from the confederation, through the influence of the
Phocians, during the sacred war. According to Demosthenes (Or.
de F. Leg. 443, 17), the maintenance of this right was the chief
cause of their invading Phocis. *Æschines* reckons them among the
older Amphictyonic states (de F. Leg. 285)." J. || δέ γε, *contra*.
Cf. Pr. Intr. ii. 230. || ἐφ' ἑαυτούς, *against themselves, prejudicial to*
their interests. || τῆς Πυλαίας, "*jus Amphictyonicæ dignitatis.* Wolf.
Πυλαία ἐκαλεῖτο ἡ εἰς τὰς Πύλας σύνοδος τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων.
Harpocr." F. || πλεονεκτ. δύναι, i.e. *ὑπερ* (nempe ἡ πυλαία et τὰ
ἐν Δελφοῖς) ἐστὶ δύο πλεονεκτήματα. F. || τοῦτο, i.e. ὅπως μὴ
προαξόμεθα . . . πρὸς ἡμᾶς, § 4. F.

§ 5. [§ 24, p. 63.]

5 τὰ κελεύόμενα, κ.τ.λ. "ὑποφορά (vid. ad 3, 29): *imperata igitur facere*
C ποσ ορορεῖ communis belli metu (ταῦτα φοβ.)! τὰ κελεύόμενα (i.e. ἂν
κελευσῶσιν οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες), non τὰ κελευθέντα, i.e. quæ tum jusse-
rant Amphictyones ab Atheniensibus rata haberi, dicit, quia, hæc ipsa
ut facerent cives, hac oratione suavit." F. || πρὸς δέ, i.e. *adversus*. F.
Wst. takes it as *adverbial*: = *and moreover*. || θρασέως . . . ὑπομ., *au-*
dacter suscipere s. conari. Cf. 6, 11. F. || ἐκείνα, "*hæc quæ sequuntur.*"
F. || κατὰ . . . συνθήκας, *according to the terms of the treaty; by treaty*.
Funkh. Cf. 45, 37, ἐμαρτύρησε Νικοκλῆς ἐπιτροπεύσαι κατὰ τὴν
διαθήκην: coll. § 38, καὶ ἐπιτροπεύσαι μὲν κατὰ διαθήκην οὐδὲν δεινὸν
ἡγεῖτο μαρτυρεῖν. 43, 34, ὁπότερος τούτων δικαιοτέρα λέγειν δόξει
καὶ κατὰ νόμους μᾶλλον. 44, 64, 67, κατὰ νόμον. F. || Καρδιανούς.
"Cardia, between Thrace and the Chersonese, at the mouth of the
river Melas, was called the key of the Thracian Chersonese, on
account of its position on the isthmus (Or. c. Aristocr.). In the
fourth year of Ol. 106, Kersobleptes, whose kingdom was distracted
by faction, resigned the Chersonese to Athens (Diodor. 16, 34),
receiving in return the city of Cardia. The Athenians at a later
period having laid claim to Cardia, the inhabitants of that city con-

tended that they did not belong to the Chersonese, and were supported by Philip in their resistance to the demands of their powerful neighbour. Dem. Orat. de F. Leg." *J.*

Kāpa, i.e. Idrieus, the successor of Mausölus. || καταλαμβάνειν, D "occupare, i.e. occupare conari." *F.* || κατάγειν τὰ πλοῖα. "*Navigia nostra (τὰ συναγωγὰ) deducere*, scil. ad oram suam s. in portum suum ut vel vectigal exigant vel prædam faciant. Cf. 8, 9, 28. Kr. ad Xen. Anab. 5, 1, 11. Aliter, 20, 77, Χαβρίας . . . ἄλλας τριήρεις πλέον ἢ εἴκοσιν εἶλε, κατὰ μίαν καὶ δύο λαμβάνων, ὃς ἀπάσας εἰς τοὺς ὑμετέρους λιμένας κατήγαγεν. 50, 5, ἐτι δὲ τῶν ἐμπόρων καὶ τῶν ναυκλήρων περὶ ἐκπλουν ὄντων ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου, καὶ Βυζαντίων καὶ Χαλκηδονίων καὶ Κυζικηνῶν καταγόντων τὰ πλοῖα ἕνεκα τῆς ἰδίας χρείας τοῦ σίτου. *F.* || περὶ τῆς ἐν Δ. σκιᾶς. "'The shadow at Delphi,' i.e. the presidency at the games, and the right of first consulting the oracle. The words seem to be an allusion to the proverbial expression, 'to fight for the ass's shadow.'" *J.*

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

SECOND PHILIPPIC.

DIONYSIUS of Halicarnassus places this oration next in order to the Oration on the Peace. It was delivered when Lysiscus was Archon, in the first year of the 190th Olympiad, a date which accords perfectly well with the chronology of the historical events mentioned in the course of the speech. The occasion, as we learn from Dionysius (Epist. ad Amm. c. 10), was the arrival of a Peloponnesian and (according to Libanius) a Macedonian embassy at Athens, "whence the ambassadors came," says the latter of these writers, "and with what object, does not appear from the speech itself, but may be easily collected from the history of Philip, who about this time sent an embassy to Athens¹ to complain of a calumnious report which the Athenians had circulated throughout the whole of Greece, to the effect that he had deceived them by fair promises, whereas he had never made any promises at all, and therefore could not have misled any body. About the same time it happened that ambassadors were sent to Athens by the Argives and Messenians to complain of the support afforded by that city to their oppressors, the Lacedæmonians, and the obstacles which the Athenians had thrown in the way of those who were struggling hard for the recovery of their freedom. The Athenians were in a great strait respecting the answer to be given to Philip and the cities; for it was true enough that they favoured the Lacedæmonians and resisted the alliance of the Argives and Messenians with Philip as dangerous to Athenian interests; yet they could not affirm that the proceedings of the Lacedæmonians were justifiable. With regard to the king, they had certainly been disappointed in their expectations, although they were unable to prove that he had himself deceived them, for he had never promised

¹ Lucchesini conjectures that this was the same embassy, of which Demosthenes says (de F. Legat.) that it came to Athens in company with some Thessallians, and demanded the restoration of Philip to the rank of Amphio-

tyonic councillor. But between this embassy and the one here mentioned there was an interval of perhaps two years. The last is, in all probability, the embassy mentioned by Demosthenes in the Oratio de Corona.

them any thing, either by letter or through his ambassadors. The truth was, that the people had been misled by Athenians, who had persuaded them that Philip was about to rescue the Phocians and curb the insolence of Thebes²." The history of this period is exceedingly defective and obscure. Attempts, it is true, have been made by Tourreil, Leland, and Auger to weave the unconnected threads into some sort of web; but the narrative, founded, as it is, on mere conjecture, is little better than a historical romance. Instead, therefore, of repeating what they have said, we will content ourselves with a reference to the notices found in Libanius, which agree in all essential particulars with the account given by Dionysius. During this period Philip had probably adopted measures which had occasioned fresh anxiety to the Athenians and their allies; at all events, it is certain that he had been engaged in fomenting those dissensions in Peloponnesus, which he had found so advantageous to his own interests in other parts of Greece. Sparta, so far from having abandoned her old pretensions, was again threatening her neighbours with the yoke of her aristocratic tyranny, against which the Messenians and Argives, in defiance of the warnings of Athens, sought protection in the promises of the Macedonian sovereign. The liberties of Greece were, it is true, threatened by the Thebans in conjunction with Macedonia, and Athens alone possessed the power of resisting their aggressions: but she was also an ally of Lacedæmon; and the Messenians and Argives, looking only to the more imminent danger, loudly demanded that the Athenians should renounce their unnatural connexion with the oppressors of Peloponnesus. Some excuse for this course, impolitic as it was, might be found in the insolence of Sparta, which they could not help contrasting with the magnanimity thus far exhibited by their new ally. Even at Athens there were many who were but too ready to take refuge from anticipations of danger and forced exertion in the pleasing self-deception which attributed to Philip a moderation never yet possessed by any conqueror. With these comfortable politicians were united a band of traitors, purchased by Macedonian gold, who wilfully darkened the cloud in which folly or indolence had shrouded the motives of Philip. The greater part of the oration is directed against these unworthy citizens: but, lest the more honest among them should be misled either by their inveterate prejudice against the Lacedæmonian name, or by the pretended magnanimity on which the oppressed Peloponnesians laid so much stress, Demosthenes unravels, with a skilful hand, the tangled web of Macedonian policy, and satisfies them by incontrovertible proofs that Philip's real object is, and ever has been, the subjugation of Athens. Reminding his hearers of the dignified position which they have always occupied among the nations of Greece, he represents the policy thus far pursued by Philip as a continued act of homage to the principles and the wisdom of the Athenian people. In this masterly sketch

² This agrees with what is said respecting an embassy of Philip's in the Oratio pro Hal., which was delivered OI. 109, 2.

our orator displays the most remarkable tact as well as eloquence. Whatever the immediate occasion of this oration may have been, it is impossible to misunderstand the general aim of the speaker; which evidently was to convince his countrymen of the discrepancy between Philip's professions and his actions, and as a necessary consequence, to urge on them the necessity of sacrificing even their personal ease to the promotion of that which they themselves acknowledged to be good and right. With this explanation the plan of the speech becomes perfectly intelligible. His former addresses to the Messenians are cited by Demosthenes, for the purpose of recalling to the minds of his hearers instances of Macedonian perfidy, and thus inducing them to compare the past with the present³. The same object is manifested in his proposal, that the orators who had praised the king, and aided him in deceiving the people, should be called to a strict account. This proposal must have revived the recollection of the manifold evils which had resulted from their misplaced confidence, and thus, whilst it promoted the general views of the speaker, would especially have the effect either of silencing the Macedonian party altogether, or at least of forewarning the people, and thus rendering their treasonable attempts comparatively innocuous. What the immediate effect of the present oration was, we have no means of ascertaining with certainty; but it is generally supposed that the impeachment soon afterwards of Philocrates, one of Philip's most strenuous supporters, by Hyperides, was the result of the suggestion with which Demosthenes concludes his speech⁴. That the popular feeling was at this time unfavorable to Philip, is evident from the fact that Philocrates anticipated the sentence of the court by going into voluntary exile. The author of the *Biographies of the Ten Orators*⁵ (generally attributed to Plutarch) relates, that when Philip read these orations of Demosthenes, he exclaimed, "By Zeus! if I had heard him deliver them, I should have been persuaded to go to war with myself." I cannot understand why this remark should be supposed to refer especially to the present speech, since the third Philippic has at least equal claims, and the author speaks of the effect, not of one, but of several orations.

³ *Aquila de Figm.* § 9, p. 150. *Apostrophe* — acutissimum exemplum in Philippicis Demosthenes, ubi quibus verbis populum Atheniensem monitum vult, ea se dicit apud Græcos et Arcadas et Messenios concionatum invadere.

⁴ In the *Orat. de Legat.*, which was delivered Ol. 109, 2, Demosthenes mentions this accusation of Philocrates as a recent occurrence. Immediately after-

wards Demosthenes also accuses *Æschines* of a false statement.

⁵ *Plutarch. Op. t. ii. p. 845 c.* Lucian, or whoever else was the author of the encomium on Demosthenes, informs us that Philip was an admirer of his eloquence and inaccessibility to bribery, and attributes several remarks to the king, which perhaps were not mere inventions of his own.

NOTES

TO THE

SECOND PHILIPPIC.

PAGE 16, § 1. [§ 1, p. 65.]

βιάζοντα. F. understands *πράττειν* : and so Dem. repeats the inf. (P. in 21, 11, ἡ καὶ ἄλλ' ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμεῖς λαμβανόντων ἢ βιάζομένων (sc. 16). *λαμβάνειν*). But this is not necessary here, as *βιάζεσθαι* (= violent *l* agere) may take the acc. of a *neut. pronoun* or *quantitative adj.* (*βιάζ.* ἅ τε, πολλὰ, οὐδέν, &c.) § καὶ θυμολογίας καὶ φιλανθρωπίας, *just and humane*.—"The interest of the nation, that is, of the whole assemblage of the Grecian states, was, professedly, the first great object of regard to every member of every community. This was their most extensive affection. The distinction of Greek and Barbarian precluded the rest of mankind from a just share in their philanthropy. At least, it was not generally considered as a duty, to extend their benevolence further than the boundaries of their nation. Those included all that were really considered of the same kind. And hence it is, as I conceive, that *the love of their countrymen* was called, by the most extensive term, *the love of mankind*. The word, therefore, in the original (*φιλανθρωπίας*), which is rendered '*humane*,' the translator understood as expressive of a regard to the general welfare of Greece." L. § φανερόντες = *are evidently*; δημοῖντες = *are thought*, i.e. *seem* to the audience. § ὡς ἐστὶς ὁμοῖον, "*prout diximus*." Gr. 1513, j. § 803, d. § οὐδ' ὅν = οὐδὲ τούτων ὄν. § ταῦτ' ἀκούω, *to listen to these harangues*; ἔβην = *it is worth while*.

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ἐβόλῃ παραβάνοντα, *should convict him of transgressing*. A Gr. 1110 (843) § 634, n. § ἐπιβουλεύοντα, *plotting against*; "*harbouring designs against*." L. § πάντες, &c. This subject has no verb, but is afterwards subdivided into ἡμῖς οἱ παρόντες (we who come forward to address you = we the orators), and ὅμοις δὲ οἱ καθήμενοι (you Phil. Dem.

(P. *who sit on the benches of the Pnyx* = *you the members of the assembly*, 17). *or you who listen to us*), each with its verb. These secondary subjects stand in a *partitive apposition* to πάντες. "Because *we all*," sc. *neglect our duty*, or some such notion. || οὐχί, Gr. 1414, i. Observe that this is our English idiom 'in actions, not words.' The Greeks often use 'but not' (ἀλλ' οὐκ), or 'and not' (καὶ οὐκ). || δέον, "quum oporteat." Gr. 1140 (863) § 700, 2. || οἱ παρόντες = οἱ λέγοντες. —Παρελθεῖν, παρίεναι = *to come forward* (to the βῆμα: ἀναστήναι, *to rise to speak in the assembly*). || τούτων . . . ἀφέσταμεν, "his abstinentius," sc. τῶν ἔργων καὶ τῶν πράξεων.—The infin. γράφειν and συμβουλεύειν are *exegetical*. Gr. 1051 (812) § 669, γ. The article is omitted, as in Olynth. 3, 12 (see note, top of p. 65), ἄλλως τε καὶ τούτου μόνον μέλλοντος περιγίγνισθαι, παθεῖν ἀδικίης τι κακόν, κ.τ.λ. = τοῦ παθεῖν, *exegetical* of τούτου. F. So Plat. Conv. 192, D, ἀρά γε τοῦδε ἐπιθυμεῖτε, ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ γενέσθαι δι μέλιστα ἀλλήλοις. Sp. The omission is *common* when the *pron.* is in the *nom.* or *acc.*; but *rare* when it is in *gen.* or *dat.* || γράφ. and συμβουλ. were the *actions* in which an Athenian orator (who was also a *statesman*) could show his activity. || τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπεχθεῖαν ὀκνοῦντες, *from the fear of incurring your displeasure*.—Ἡ πρὸς τινα ἀπὶχθεια, "duplicem habet significationem: subjectivam s. activam, odium, quo aliquem persequor; et objectivam s. passivam, odium, quod est contra me apud aliquem. Utraque significatio in brevi oratio invenitur, Cor. p. 237, § 36, ταῦτα δ' ἀσμένως τινὲς ἤκουον αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν τοῦ ὑποῦσαν ἀπὶχθειαν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους. Active; passive contra illos; καὶ ἐπὶ πρὸς τοῦτοις (sc. συνέβη) τὴν μὲν ἀπεχθεῖαν εἶν πρὸς Θηβαίους καὶ Θετταλοὺς τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι, τὴν δὲ χάριν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πεπραγμένων φιλέειπαι." V. || ὥς δαυθαί· ὥς = quom. || καὶ . . . ταῦτα, *and the like*; and *all that*. || ἐπεὶ· ἔπειτα (ultra) are usually opposed to πρῶτον μὲν without δὲ in Dem. K. || ὥς μὲν ἐν ἐπ. "Ὡς si h. l. finalis particula esset, conjunctivi aequi debebant (cf. 7, 29). Sed orator hoc dicit: eo modo (quasi eo genere apparatus), quo justas orationes habere possitis, melius Philippo instructi et parati estis, i. e. ad orationes habendas . . . parati estis. B. δίκαιοι λόγοι, autem esse orationes dicuntur, quibus jura Atheniensium adversus Philipppum defenduntur." P. For Hermann's rule cf. Gr. 1312; but with respect to the present passage (considering ὥς a *final* particle) he says, "Ego quidem, cur in priore membro orationis Optativi positi sint, fateor me non perspicere. In altero autem membro et res ipsa et collocatio particulae Optativum suadet." Ehnusley denies the occurrence of ὥς *finalis* with ἄν in Attic writers (ad Soph. Aj. 1217). V. || ἐπὶ ἐν ἐστὶ· περὶ ἐπρουδάξαι (W.), quibus insinuat. Polyb. 3, 9, 7, ταῖς ὁμαῖς ἐπὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ἦν (quibus ducebatur). Dem. in Steph. 1, 1111, § 33, δρ' ἦν ὁ πατήρ ἐπὶ τοῦ τραπέζι τεύειν, quum rei argentariae studeret. || συμβάλει δὲ. The δὲ, which gives emphasis to the συμβαίνει, here connects the present statement with the preceding one, as being a necessary and obvious result of it. It may here be rendered by *thus* or *accordingly*. || ἐν οἷς ἐκέρπει, κ.τ.λ. An *explanatory* proposition of this kind is often added *asyndetically*. Bernhardy, Synt. p. 54, N. 98. Plat. Soph.

255, A. Θ. ἴσως. Ξ. Ἄλλ' οὐτε μὴν κινήσεις γε καὶ στάσεις οὐδ' ἕτερον (P. οὐτε ταῦτόν ἐστι. Θ. Πῶς; Ξ. Ὅτι περ (i.e. ὅτι περ γὰρ) ἀν κοινῇ 17). προσείπωμεν κινήσιν καὶ στάσιν, τοῦτο οὐδ' ἕτερον αὐτοῖν ὁλόν τε εἶναι. Θ. Τί δὲ; Ξ. Κινήσεις τε (i.e. ὅτι κινήσεις τε) στήσεται, κ.τ.λ. (vid. Heind. § 87.) V. || βῆδαν. Gr. 634 (517) § 376. || ὅπως. On the futures indic. cf. Gr. 1313 (254) § 811. || καὶ μή = καὶ ὅπως μὴ, κ.τ.λ. || (ὅπως) . . . μὴδ' ἐπιστήσεται μέγεθος δυνάμεως, "new magnitudo copiarum ingruat" (W.), i.e. that we may not be assailed by so formidable a power and such numerous forces.—ἐπιστήσεται, sc. ἡμῖν. Cf. De Cor. 287, τὸν ἐπιστηκότα κίνδυνον τῇ πόλει. V. || οὐδ' ἀντάραι δυνησόμεθα. Bek. Anecd. p. 268, ἀνταίρειν, ἀντανίστασθαι [renūi, resistere], Δημοσθένος. So ἀντήρατε, Olynth. 2, p. 28, § 24. V. Cf. Plat. Euthyd. 272, A, ὅστε μὴδ' ἀν εἶνα ἀντοῖς ὁλόν τ' εἶναι μὴδ' ἀντάραι. It occurs as a transitive verb in Th. (3, 32), and often in Hdt. Some would supply ὅπλα or χεῖρας here; but this is unnecessary (Sp.), though, of course, the intransitive meaning arose from the transitive one, on the principle explained Gr. 720 (578) § 360.

§ 2. [§ 6, p. 67.]

ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ. Isocrates speaks thus of the great power that Philip 2 was in possession of after the peace: σοὶ δὲ μόνῳ (sc. ἰσώρῳ) πολλήν c ἐξουσίαν ὑπὸ τῆς τῆς δειδομένην, κ.τ.λ., πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ δύναμιν κεκτημένος, ὅσην οὐδεὶς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀ μόνον ὄντων καὶ πείθειν καὶ βιάζεσθαι πέφυκεν, ad Phil. cap. 6, § 16. "Since the termination of the war, and the admission of Philip into the Amphictyonic Council, a Macedonian garrison had occupied Phylæ (Or. Phil. 3). The possession of this fortress secured him access to the rest of Greece." J. || πάντων ὁμοίως ὅμων. The insertion of the ὁμοίως between πάντων ὅμων calls attention to the words. Ἰπᾶς and ἄρας are often accompanied by ὁμοίως, which may either precede or follow the adjective (K. ad Dion. Hist. 259, note 60). B. || παρέστηκε. Παρεστηκίνας is said of a fixed opinion, like "stat mihi sententia; stat mihi hoc." B. || ὅς' ἔν, "per quas rationes sive quibus ductus, ut plenius infra § 8: ὅς' οὐ πεισθέντες, sed quod præcedit δι' οὗς significat propter quas; hujus notio est causa remota, quam respicimus; illud ipsam rem significat, qua utimur ut instrumento." V.

οἱ θαρροῦντες, used absolutely: those confident persons. "These D words relate to persons who, like Æschines and Philocrates, had promised, in Philip's name, that the pride of Thebes should be humbled, and many important advantages be secured to the Athenians. Demosthenes returns to the consideration of this subject at the conclusion of his speech." J. || προσθήσεσθε, you will join them. προσθίεσθαι, sc. ψήφον, lit. to add one's vote to the votes of others, or to those of a party; hence to assent to a person's opinions, to join his party, &c. Dem. p. 295, § 203, οὐδ' ἡδυνήθη πάποτε τὴν πόλιν οὐδεὶς ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου πείσαι, τοῖς ισχύουσι μὲν, μὴ δίκαια δὲ

(P. πράττουσι προσθιμένην ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν. *Proprie supplendum* 17). *est ψῆφον*. Thuc. lib. i. cap. 40, ψῆφον προσθιμέθεῖσαν ἐναντίαν ὑμῖν. V. Observe the abrupt transition to the *oratio recta* from ἵνα . . . πεισθῆτε. F. compares Cic. de Or. 2, 1, 4, "sed fuit in utroque eorum ut Crassus non tam existimari vellet non didicisse, quam—anteferre. Antonius autem censebat," &c. || Πυλῶν, i.e. of Thermopylae: by occupying this pass Philip laid Phocis open to his arms. || τῶν ἐν Φωκίᾳ πραγμάτων, the decision of the Phocian question [lit. "rerum, quae in Phocensibus gerebantur." F.]. The power alluded to was that of acting as generalissimo of the Greeks in the Sacred War. || ἀσυμφέρει, the present rather than the imperfect, because the line of conduct he then adopted, was still an advantage to the Thebans in its consequences, and was still pursued by him. F. He alludes to the false pretences by which Philip, at the time the peace was concluded, deluded the Athenians, and withdrew them from the interests of the Phocians. Wst. || πρὸς πλεονεξίαν . . . ἐξετάζων, making his grasping ambition and the general subjugation of Greece the measure of his calculations.—ἐξετάζειν τι πρὸς τι is to examine the nature of any thing by referring it to something else as its test; to test one thing by another. || τοῖς ἡθεσι, your (habitual) principles. So 18, 114, οὕτω ταῦτα οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἡθεσιν ὥριστα. Wst. || οὐδὲν . . . τοσοῦτον, nothing of such importance (so the MS. Σ for τοιοῦτον). Wst. || οὐδὲν ἂν ἐνδείξαίτο, would be able to pretend: "se nihil ejusmodi ostentare (i.e. polliceri, quum tamen praestare nollet) . . . posse." F. (retaining τοιοῦτον.)

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▲ τῶν ἄλλων τινὰς Ἑλλήνων. K. says that this interposition of the τινὰς (whether as itself the governing word, or as attached to the governing word) is only allowable, when another attributive or other modifying word follows the article. Τῶν τινὰς Φοινίκων is an Ionic collocation introduced by some late writers. He quotes from Xen. τῶν Τισσαφέρνηους τινὰς οἰκειῶν. || τὴν προσσῶσαν ἀδοξίαν τῷ πράγματι. On this order cf. Gr. 695, d (558, d). || ἐναντιώσεσθε, with a sudden transition from the *oratio obliqua* to the *oratio recta*. Wst. || ὥσπερ ἂν, sc. ἐναντιωθείητε. || ἀντὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῖς γιγνομένων τὰ τινι γιγνόμενα, "commoda (s. emolumenta) quae alicui contingunt, = his private advantages. He alludes to the Thebans, who let Philip do what he pleased, because he restored to them Orchomenus and Coronæ (as we have seen in the Or. on the Peace), which the Phocians had taken from them the year before. Wst. || οὐχ ὅπως = not only; not. Gr. 1492, d (1041, b) § 762, 2, 3. || ἂν αὐτοὺς κελύη. The same form (subj. c. ἂν) is retained in the secondary clause of the *oratio obliqua*, that the same clause would have in the *oratio recta*. Gr. 1389 (1001) § 886, 2. Cf. 7, 33. || τοὺς Μεσσηνίους . . . εἰ ἐποίησιν, by supporting them in their resistance to the Lacedaemonians. Wst. || εἰ ἐποίησιν. "The benefits here spoken of seem to have consisted at that time of promises made to them by Philip, perhaps

through Python his ambassador. These promises Philip is said to (P.) have fulfilled to a certain extent at a later period, by advancing upon 18). Acarnania and Megara. I used, with many other commentators, to think that the threatening letters said to have been sent by Philip to the Spartans, as well as their short and spirited replies, belonged also to this period (Plutarch, t. ii. p. 511. Valcken. ad Theocr. Adon. p. 261); but an allusion in one of the letters to the presence of the younger Dionysius at Corinth proves, as Vömel justly observes (Proleg. ad Phil. 2), that they could not have been written before the second year of the 109th Olympiad. See Diodor. 16, 70." *J.* ¶ ταῦτά τε ἀεὶ ἐκείνης = *from the same persuasion* (i.e. as that which he entertained with reference to the Thebans, that they would sacrifice the public good to their private advantage).

καθ' ἑαυτὸν (is *vos = de robis*). Κατὰ, with reference to a non-hostile relation, is comparatively rare, the usual meaning being *against*. Wst. (aft. F.) compares 18, 215, ἰδεῖαν ἐγκώμια . . . καθ' ἑμῶν τὰ μέγιστα: and F. adds Cic. de Off. 1, 9, "*id quod apud Platonem est in philosophos dictum.*" ¶ κέρμεθαι, by Philip. ¶ τὰ κατὰ δίκαια τῶν Ἑλλήνων. That independence of the Greek states which had been secured to them by the peace of Antalcidas, but had been violated by the occupation of the Cadmea (citadel of Thebes) by the Lacedaemonians. Wst. ¶ ὡς ἑτέρας, propr. *how* (much) *otherwise!* = *quite differently*. [Schömann, however, thinks it = *ὁμοῦς ὡς ἑτέρας*, as ὅσον ἀπείραντον = *τόσον, ὅσον ἀπείραντον*: and Weber = *ὁμοῦς ἀληθῶς ὡς δυνατὸν ἐστι.*] F. ¶ ἐπείρματα, *finds* it recorded = *has read*. ¶ ὥστε [*so as* (to be) = *on condition* of (being)] denotes as a consequence, what is properly to be conceived as a condition (ἐφ' ᾧ ῥε). So πολλά μιν χρήματα, ἰζόν μοι λαβεῖν ὥστε μὴ κατηγορεῖν, εὐ λαβόν. Dem. 21, 3.

Ἀλέξανδρος. "After the retreat of Xerxes from Greece, Mardonius, who had been left behind in command of the army, sent Alexander, king of Macedonia (the son of Amyntas), to Athens, with the most brilliant promises. 'Their property,' he said, 'should be respected, and they might, moreover, choose any territory that they pleased, and it should be secured to them.' To this offer they replied, 'Carry back this answer to Mardonius: As long as the sun runs the course which now he runs, the Athenians will never unite themselves with the king of the Macedonians, nor cease to oppose him with all their might, relying on the support of their tutelary gods, and the protection of those heroes whose temples and images he has remorselessly given to the flames. Wherefore, we pray you, be no more the bearer of such messages to the Athenian people, nor urge them, in your well-intentioned zeal, to the commission of an act of shame.' To a Spartan embassy sent at the same time, to remind them of their duty, the reply was equally spirited. 'Be assured that no amount of gold, nor any extent of territory, however fair and fruitful, shall tempt us to do homage to the Mede, and enslave our country. Thus much we owe to our insulted gods, and to the common bond of religion, affinity, and manners, which unites us to the rest of Greece. As long as there survives a single Athenian, there will be

(P. no intercourse or alliance with Xerxes' (Hdt. viii. 136—144). 18). As soon as Mardonius received the reply of the Athenians, his troops ^c were put in motion, and he entered Attica, which he found deserted by the inhabitants, most of whom had retired to Salamis, or gone on board the fleet. Thus, at the end of ten months, was Athens a second time taken by the Persians. An ambassador was now despatched from the capital to Salamis, with the same proposals which they had rejected when Mardonius was at a distance. But the Athenian senators were still as firm as ever in their resolution; and when one of their number attempted to submit the proposal to the general assembly of the people, the crowd that surrounded the senate-house stoned him to death: his wife and children were treated in the same manner by the Athenian women (Hdt. ix. 1—5). The ambassador of Mardonius was suffered to depart unmolested. Soon afterwards the Persian general, finding it impossible to maintain his position in Attica, commenced his retreat, after ravaging the land, and destroying what remained of the walls and temples at Athens. In the same year (Ol. 75, 2) the Greek confederates gained the victory of Plataea, and Cimon defeated the Persians in the famous sea-fight off Mycale." *J.* || ἀλλὰ καὶ . . . προελομένους. The chronological succession of events is here not carefully observed, for the Athenians had evacuated their country a year before the battle of Plataea; and though Mardonius had made a second attempt on Athens, shortly before the battle of Plataea (Hdt. ix. 3), yet, in the words *πράξαντας ταῦθ' . . . δεδόνηται*, Dem. beyond a doubt had in his mind not only that battle, but also the earlier victories at Artemisium and Salamis. *Wst.* || τῷ λόγῳ, not as if any other mode of speaking (than by a λόγος) were possible, but to render prominent the antithesis between ἔργα and λόγος: *their deeds are greater than any man can adequately set forth in words* [lit. 'in his speech,' hence the article]. *Wst.* || τοὺς μὲν, κ.τ.λ. Observe the *partitive apposition*, where one might rather have expected a *partitive gen.*, τῶν . . . προγόνων τοὺς μὲν, κ.τ.λ. This construction is evidently chosen here to avoid the double gen., τῶν δὲ Θηβαίων . . . προγόνων. "The Thebans are often reproached with their apostasy at the time of the Persian war; hence they are called by Isocrates 'betrayers of the whole of Greece' (Plataicus, c. 13). Of the Argives we are told, that when the Greeks were preparing to resist the invasion of Xerxes, they sent messengers to Argos, to invite their co-operation. To this the Argives replied, that they had been advised by an oracle to remain within their walls; but that they would, nevertheless, join the Greek army, if the Lacedæmonians would insure them a thirty years' peace, and half the command of the auxiliary troops. The first of these proposals was taken into consideration, the other adopted, but with such restrictions as almost amounted to a refusal. Thereupon the Argives resolved, that it would be better for them to bow their necks to the barbarian yoke, than to submit to the insolence of their haughty neighbours, and commanded the ambassadors to quit the city before nightfall. This is the account given by the Argives themselves; but others have asserted that their unwilling-

ness to join the Greek confederation was occasioned by their friendly (P. disposition towards Xerxes, who, a short time before his invasion of 18). Greece, had sent a herald to Argos, with offers of favour and protection (Hdt. vii. 148—151). At a later period, they were accused of having given Mardonius the first intelligence of the march of the Spartan army under Pausanias (Hdt. ix. 12).² J. ἡ ἐπὶ τοῖς Σπάρτας, "as conditions at *justa feriat*, &c. (P.)," on an (implied) condition of just conduct: i.e. under the condition of neither proposing to you nor requiring from you any unjust measure.

καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν. When τότε and νῦν are followed by a verb common to both, this verb is usually in the present tense, even when the order of the adverbs is reversed; e.g. Soph. Electr. 907, καὶ νῦν ὁ ὁμοῖος καὶ τότε ἔκτισται. On the other hand, in Dem. 29, 32, παραδόναι καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν ἡδύλον, the imperfect has a special relation to a period preceding the immediately present time; and in 3, 30. 9, 36, the conception is somewhat different. Τότε relates to the time that preceded the conclusion of the peace. Wat. ἡ οὐ γὰρ δὴ τρέφουσιν γε ("non enim certe trivemes quidem"). The Athenians could even then man 300. Cf. 4, 40. P. ἢ τῇ . . . εἴρηκε, τῆς δ' . . . ἀφώρτησαν. The two actions are both dependent on οἰεῖ, and stated as *ord. natly* as independent actions; whereas their true relation is that of *cause* (motive) and *effect*: nor had he turned his thoughts away from the sovereignty of the sea, and the possession of the maritime cities, from having acquired any considerable (τινὴν) sovereignty in the inland countries. So in Lat.: "*indignum videbatur populum Romanum servitatem, quam sub regebat erat, nullo bello nec ab hostibus ullis obstruam erat, liberum eundem populum ab Etruscis obtuleri*. Liv. 2, 12 init." P. ἡ ἐντυχῶν, as if the Athenians had dictated to him the terms of the peace.

PAGE 19, § 3. [§ 13, p. 69.]

Ὀρχομενὸν καὶ Κορώνειαν. "The Lacedaemonians might contend, 3 that they possessed a prescriptive right to Memeae; whereas the A Thebans could only plead their desire to obtain Orchomenus and Coronea (see Orat. de Pace)." J. ἡ σφάραγος; = προφασίζεσθαι;

§ 4. [§ 14, p. 69.]

ἀλλ' ἡφαίσθη. *but, it is alleged (or pretended) he was compelled by 4 force: a supposed objection.* So 'at' is often used in Lat. Cf. De Pace, φιλεῖσθαι τοῖς τινὲς ταλμῶσι λίγην ὥς οἱδ' ἡρώδης Θεβαίους Ὀρχομενὸν καὶ Κορώνειαν παραδόναι, ἀλλ' ἡραγισθή. ἡ Θεβαίων . . . καὶ Θεβαίων (dpt on μέση): they were his allies, by whose aid he had terminated the Phocian war. The Thebanian cavalry was famous, the country being well adapted for breeding horses. It consisted of above 3000 men, and even that number could (as Xenophon tells us) be doubled in times of danger. ἡ καλῶς, ironically. ἡ ὑπόπτος ἔχειν, in an active sense = ὑποπτεῖν. So 19, 32, ἐκπύοντες ἔχον καὶ ὑπόπτος πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον. P. ἡ Ἐλάτεια. "Elatēa, next to Delphi, the most considerable city of

(P. Phocis, and a place of very great importance on account of its position on the borders of Phocis, Bœotia, and Thessaly, shared the fate of the other Phocian towns at the end of the Sacred War (Pausan. x. 34, 3). If Philip had placed a garrison in it at that time, he would have wrested from Thebes one of the greatest advantages which she had gained by her victory over Phocis. But this he considered unnecessary, as long as the Thebans were obedient to his commands. When, however, they began to manifest symptoms of distrust, and to court the friendship of Athens, Philip at once took possession of a place, which commanded the passage through Phocis and Bœotia into Attica. This did not, however, happen until Ol. 110, 2, a few months before the battle of Chæronœa (Philochorus ap. Dionys. Epist. ad Amm. c. 11. p. 742. Dem. de Corona." J. *ἢ μᾶλλον καὶ μᾶλλον*, he is going to do it, and will continue to be going to do it, i. e. will still delay doing it, and never do it at last. Dem. was, however, mistaken. *ἢ Μεσσηνίου* . . . *ἢ καὶ Ἀργ.* are *dativi commodi*, in favour of the Messenians. *ἢ συμβάλλειν* (= "*manus conserere, congeri*"), to engage. Its construction with *ἐπὶ* or *πρὸς* (instead of with the *dat.*) is rare.

- B *ἐόντων εὐσπειρώμεναι*. "These words would seem to indicate that Philip had already sent forward small detachments, or, perhaps, only individual soldiers, in advance of the army which he intended to march into Peloponnesus; or perhaps the openness with which he made his plans known may have provoked Demosthenes to use this expression." J. *ἢ ἐστὶ προσδόκιμος*, is expected. Of course it is implied that he is expected *there*, in the Peloponnesus. *ἢ τοὺς μὲν ὄντας*, who still exist, who are left; opp. *τοὺς ἀπώλεσεν*. *ἢ τοὺς μὲν . . . ὄντας*; The two present tenses (the second, *ὄντας*, being preferred to the *fut.*, or to an infinitive dependent on a verb of *purpose*) denote *endeavour, intention*, with reference to Philip's present *actual or supposed* conduct. *He is endeavouring to bring ruin upon the Lacedæmonians, the still existing enemies of the Thebans; and is it now his intention (do you think) to restore the Phocians, whom he himself before destroyed?* The first clauses may be resolved by *whilst*, &c.; but its independent structure assumes the fact of Philip's present purpose, to destroy the Lacedæmonians, in a more positive manner. *ἢ καὶ τίς . . . ; and who, pray . . . ?* *Καὶ* in *interrogations* introduces (as it often does in other sentences) an addition that heightens and augments the force of what preceded. Such questions usually point out some *inconsequence*, some *contradiction* between the statements made. Eur. Here. Fur. 292, *καὶ τίς θανάτων ἦλθεν ἐξ Αἰδίου πάλιν*; Xen. Cyr. 6, 3, 22, *καὶ δοκοῦμέν σοι . . . ἱκανῶς ἔξω* (Hartung, vol. i. 146). Nearly so *et? et quis?* "*Et eleganter pontitur cum interrogatione in vehementioribus clausulis, quum attulimus, quæ valde commovere possunt*" (Goelen. ap. Hand. iii. 492). *ἢ ἔγωγε μὲν γὰρ . . .* The connexion is, *surely nobody can believe this, for, to judge by myself, I, for my part, &c.* *ἢ οὐδ' . . . ἡγοῦμαι*, opp. to an implied *μηδὲ πιστεύω*, *much less feel confident*. F.—The pupil must attend to the different tenses of *ἔπραξεν* (= *did*, or *had done*) and *ἀπεργίνωσκε* (= *were now*) mentally, *giving up*; *were beginning to give up* [the Thebans] in despair.

The first *ἀν* belongs to *ἐναντιοῦσθαι* [= *would oppose*. Gr. 1089, c (P. (830, c) § 405, obs. 2)], and is then repeated (*analeptically*), as 19). is often done with one of the *οὐρέ'ς*. The inference to be drawn from the question is, of course, *since, then, he does thus pertinaciously oppose the enemies of the Thebans*, you must conclude (as I do) *that he was not acting by compulsion* (when he gave up Orchomenus and Coronea to the Thebans), *nor is now beginning to distrust the Thebans, and give up his connexion with them.* || *ἐκ πάντων* δ'. These words are not to be joined with *θεωρῶ*, but to be taken *absolutely*, after which *πραγματεύεται* is to be considered independent. "From all this, if a man takes a right view of the matter, all that he does he does for the purpose of intriguing against this state." Wst. [F. joins *ἐκ πάντων θεωρῶ*, "si quis autem omni ex parte recte consideret."] || *συντάττειν* (= "*componens, fabre construens.*" Rsk.) implies the construction of a system of policy: *whatever he is so busily employed about, is systematically directed against our state.*

νῦν γε δὲ, i.e. *now, at least*, whatever may have been the case in c former times. || *τούτου* δ' = *τοῦ ἀρχειν αὐτόν*. || *οἷς . . . τούτοις* = *τούτοις ᾧ ὄντα ὑμέτερά ἐχει*, for it is by his unjust retention of what belongs to you, that &c. On *Amphipolis* and *Potidea* see Introd. || *προῖτό* . . . *ἐν* . . . *ἡγήτο*. Gr. 1286, a (945, a). || *οἴκοι*, at home, i.e. in Macedonia. || *οἶδε*, . . . *ἐαυτὸν ὑμῖν ἐπιβουλεύοντα*. Since the participle relates to the subject of *οἶδε*, the regular construction would be *οἶδε . . . ἐπιβουλεύων* [Gr. 1110 (843) § 684, ii.]: but the accusative is here preferred, for the purpose of more clearly marking out to the ear the antithesis between *ἐαυτὸν ἐπιβουλεύοντα* and *ὑμᾶς αἰσθανομένους*. Wst. || *δικαίως ἐν* . . . *νομίζοι*, *he would justly think* = *he naturally enough concludes*. It implies an inference, but without intimating actual uncertainty. || *φθάση* . . . *πρότερος*. Cf. *μὴ πρότερον προλαμβάνετε*, Phil. i. 3, v. || *ἐφίστηκεν*, sc. *τοῖς πράγμασι*.

ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει, lit. *against the city*, i.e. *as a measure in opposition to* D *our state*. So 23, 124, *δυνάμεις ἐπὶ τοῖς πλήθεσι ἐκτετημένους*. 24, 123, *τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ πλήθει νυνομοθετημένα δεινά*. || *ταῦτά*, i.e. *their own interests* (not the public good). || *τούτοις*, i.e. *the Thebans*. || *τὰ παρόντα ἀγαπήσειν*. Gr. 925 (730, a) § 607. || *σωφρονοῦσί γε* . . . *ἔστιν ἰδεῖν*, *those, at least, who have any discernment may see*, &c. *καὶ μετρίως ἐναργῇ παραδείγματα* = *παραδείγματα, καὶ (ταῦτα) μετρίως ἐναργῇ παραδείγματα, tolerably plain examples* [i.e. of what must be expected to follow, *τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα*]. || *ἄ* . . . *ἔμοιγ' εἰπών, συνῆβη*, *which I was led to mention; had occasion to mention*. The *συνῆβη* refers to his being the person rather than another. || *πρὸς Μεσσηνίους*. "An embassy of Athens to the Peloponnesus, by which the plans of Philip for its invasion were frustrated, is mentioned by Demosthenes in the third Philippic (delivered in the third year of the 109th Olympiad), with the addition, that it had taken place the year before (*πέρυσιν*), consequently Ol. 109, 2. But this mode of reckoning is too vague to warrant such an attempt at explanation as I made on a former occasion; I am content, therefore, to adopt the suggestion of Winiewski (Comm. Hist.

(P. p. 152, 157), that two embassies must have been sent to Peloponnesus, the one before (Ol. 108, 4), and the other after (Ol. 109, 2), the delivery of the present oration. It was not until after the battle of Chæronæa that Philip entered the Peloponnesus, whither he had been long since invited by his friends and adherents (Polyb. ix. 33, 9)." J. F. says the embassy was sent early in Ol. 109, 1 (B.C. 344).

§ 5. [§ 20, p. 71.]

- 5 πῶς γὰρ ἀκούειν. The γὰρ belongs properly to ἔφην: and the ἀκούειν, προσδοκῆν are to be considered the infinitives of the imperfect, εἰ λίγοι denoting indefinite frequency [Gr. 1296 (947) § 855, β], imagine with what impatience they listened, &c. when any one said a word against Philip, &c. F. gives an example of a similar oratorical question from Cic. Fam. 8, 3: "*quomodo illum putas auguratus competitorum tuum dolere?*" || Ἀνθεμόντι. "Anthemân, a Macedonian city, near Olynthus. That Philip gave it up to the Olynthiac republic, is known only from the passage before us. Probably this happened about the time when the king conciliated the Olynthians by the cession of Potidæa, and withdrew from the alliance with Athens, Ol. 106, 1." J. Both Hdt. (5, 94) and Thuc. (2, 96) speak of it as belonging to the Macedonians. || ἀφίει ἔδδου, i.e. when he was proposing to give up, to give, &c. The choice between ἀφίει and ἤφίει (a form which also occurs) must be determined in each passage (as F. observes) by the best manuscripts.

PAGE 20.

- A τοιαῦτα, sc. ἃ νῦν πάσχουσιν. || λέγοντός τινος = εἰ τις εἶπεν. JN. ἂν πιστεῦσαι. || ἄλλοτρίαν, Potidæa. || πολύν. The orator is here a bad prophet, as he reckons upon the final defeat of Philip, and the consequent restoration of Olynthian independence by the Athenian confederacy, though after a long (πολύν) servitude. || ἐκπεσόντες, sc. ὑπὸ Φιλίππου. || προδοθέντες παρθέντες, betrayed and sold by one another, sc. by Lasthenês, Euthycratês, and other traitors. || αἱ πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους αὐταὶ λίαν δριμύται, these too intimate relations with tyrants. On the order αὐταὶ—αἱ. Cf. Gr. 705, a.—αὐταί, these, i.e. not only such as I am speaking of, but such as you, O Messenians, are proposing to enter into, with Philip. || οἱ Θεσσαλοί, sc. προσεδόκων. "The connexion of Philip with the Thessalians is mentioned in Philip. ii. p. 99, D. The Thessalian nobles, it would appear, had invited Philip (Ol. 105, 4) to aid them in their opposition to the three brothers of Thebe, who, after the assassination of Alexander of Phæræ (Ol. 105, 2), had usurped the supreme authority. By his victory over these tyrants Philip acquired immense influence in Thessaly (Diod. xvi. 14). The Phocian war revived the hopes of the tyrants. Lycophron, who was supported by Onomarchus, commander-in-chief of the Phocians, invaded Thessaly, but was defeated by Philip, and forced to retreat. Onomarchus, on the other hand, was repeatedly victorious. The war having recommenced, Philip was nominated com-

mander of the Thessalians, and took possession of the cities of (P. Pherræ, Pagassæ, and Magnesia, for the benefit of his allies, as he 20). pretended, but in reality for himself (Diodor. xvi. 35). At what ^A period the Thessalians were gratified by the long-promised restoration of Magnesia and Nicæa, is not known with any certainty; but it is most probable that it took place on the termination of the sacred war. Nicæa, a city situated near the passes of Thermopylæ, was a place of great importance as a frontier fortress. Æschines (de Falsa Leg. c. 37) says, that the Phocians, who were afterwards masters of this city, together with Alpônæ and Thronium (places of equal importance), had promised, shortly before the negotiations for peace, to place them at the disposal of the Athenians. The Thebans laid claim to Nicæa, and were angry with him for giving up the city to the Thessalians at the conclusion of the Sacred War. (See Æschin. c. Ctesiph.) The tyrants of Thessaly, with whom Philip had often been engaged in war, were expelled by him (according to Diodor. xvi. 69) the same year that this oration was delivered, to the great satisfaction of other nations as well as the Thessalians. After the expulsion of the tyrants, Philip placed a Macedonian garrison in Pherræ, their former residence, and established a new government, which was by no means unpopular among the people in general, who were flattered by Philip's imitation of their manners and customs (Theopompus apud Athen. vi. p. 260 B. C.). With regard to the decarchy (government of ten magistrates) Demosthenes seems to contradict himself, for in his third Philippic he speaks of the introduction of a tetrarchy by Philip. Auger would reconcile these contradictory statements by reading *τετραρχίαν* here also; whilst Olivier and Leland are of opinion that the whole country was divided into four districts, each of which was governed by a council of ten, who were devoted to Macedonian interests. Schæfer (Appar. Crit. tom. i. p. 425 not.) supposes that the whole country was governed by tetrarchs, and the different cities by decarchs, an opinion not very different from that of the two other commentators¹. I do not think, however, that either such an explanation or any change of the word is wanted, if we understand the orator as speaking not of any particular form of government, but (consistently with the object which he had in view²) of such an absolute rule as the Lacedæmonians were accustomed to exercise over conquered cities, the name of which (Decadarchy, Decemvirate) sounded more hateful in Athenian ears than even that of tyranny. Weiske (de Hyperb. iii.)

¹ I have no doubt that the passage was thus read by Harpocration, who says: Φίλιππος μέντοι κατὰ Θερμαλούς δεκαρχίας οὐ κατέστησεν, ἀεὶ γέγραπται ἐν τῷ τῶν Φιλισκεῶν (Or. c. Phil. 2), ἀλλὰ τετραρχίας. His words, although somewhat obscure, can scarcely be understood as bearing any other meaning than this, that Demosthenes frequently speaks of decarchies, although Philip in reality established only tetrarchies.

The meaning of the term *δεκαρχία*, as it is understood for example by Isocrates, is explained by Harpocration in the same article.

² This object would be still more distinctly shown if Demosthenes had written: τὴν καθεστῆσαν τῶν, οὐ τετραρχίαν, ἀλλὰ δεκαρχίαν. The force of the expression might, however, have been weakened by such a change.

(P. adopts this explanation, which is rejected by Vömel (in a Programme 20). dedicated to this subject, 1830, p. 14) on the ground of my having

A brought forward no proof of the word being ever used in the sense which I desire it to bear (*vim, quam optat, vocabulo inesse*³). He himself thinks that the apparently contradictory passages may be reconciled, by supposing that Philip divided the land (as it was before the conquest) into four parts, each of which was governed by a tetrarch, but that the *whole* was subjected to the government of decemviri. It is quite correct, therefore (he adds), to say that Philip established tetrarchies as well as a decarchy. But as the orator was at liberty to employ whichever of the expressions he pleased, we find that in his speech before the Messenians and Argives, he uses the obnoxious name (*invidioso nomine*) because those nations had already groaned beneath the Lacedæmonian decarchies, and were apprehensive of being again subjected to the same yoke. This explanation agrees with my own in one essential particular, but differs from it in taking for granted that an actual decemvirate was established (a fact which it would be difficult to prove); whereas mine does not assume that reference was necessarily made to any particular form of government established by Philip⁴. The tetrarchy had moreover been a standing institution of Thessaly since the days of Alenæs. See Butt. Mytholog. ii. p. 251." J.

B Πυλάται. Cf. Or. de Pace, end of § 13. || προσόδους. Cf. Ol. 1, § 22: ἡκουον δ' ἰγώγῃ τινων ὡς οὐδὲ τοὺς λιμένας καὶ τὰς ἀγοράς ἐτι δώσοιεν αὐτῷ καρποῦσθαι. τὰ γὰρ κοινὰ τὰ θετταλῶν ἀπὸ τούτων δέοι διοικεῖν, οὐ Φίλιππον λαμβάνειν. Wst. || οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα. Assuredly not: = οὐκ οἴσθε προσδοκᾶν τοὺς θετταλοὺς. || θεωρεῖτε (indic.) . . . ἀπεύχεσθε (imperat.). The orator applies what he had said to the Messenians, for whom a similar fate was preparing. As long as Philip's plans are not yet ripe for execution, he is all readiness to serve you, will give you what you please, and promise you whatever you ask: but, if you are wise, pray that the day may never arrive when his deceitful and treacherous designs shall stand before you as an accomplished fact.

C τοῖς πλήθεσι, cf. 18, 46. || οὐδὲν μὴ δεινόν = οὐ μὴ δεινόν τι (18, 246). || εἴτ' οὐχ ὁρᾶτε. Gr. 1358 (980) § 874, 6. || καὶ τὰς προστηγορίας, his *very titles* (L.), not to speak of the substantial

³ That the word *δεκαρχία* is taken in its secondary sense to signify something hateful, is granted by our learned critic. It seems, therefore, scarcely reasonable to ask for proofs of its being used elsewhere in a similar sense. Who would require this, if an orator called a monster meeting a *convention*, or a commission, appointed for carrying out violent measures, a *committee of public safety*? J.

⁴ Vömel says that I am mistaken in supposing that these arrangements were

made by Philip immediately after the expulsion of the tyrants, since they were expelled in Ol. 108, 4, and the new form of government was established in Ol. 109, 1. This is true enough in one sense—but he forgets that the tyrants returned to Thessaly, and were a *second time* expelled, Ol. 109, 1. The testimony of Diodor. (xvi. 69) is very distinct on this point. Comp. Winiewski, *Comm. Hist.* p. 146. 155. Flaché, *Hist. of Macedonia*, part i. p. 216. J.

nature of his power and character of his government. || βασιλεὺς . . . (P. ἐναντίος, a rhetorical exaggeration, as the comparative weakness of 20). the 'kings' of Sparta itself might show. || πολέμῳ, with Lacedæmon.

§ 6. [§ 26, p. 72.]

θορυβούντες ὡς ὁρθῶς λέγεται, with clamorous expressions of appro- 6
bation, p. 27, D. || καὶ πάλιν ὕστερον, after the departure of Dem.,^D
who probably visited other cities of Peloponnesus with the same
object. || παρ' αὐτῶν = παρὰ ταῦτα αὐτῶν, κ.τ.λ., act against their own better
judgement. The opinion expressed is founded on the intellectual
superiority of Athens, but the mention of it in this place is intended
and fitted to call up in the minds of the Athenians themselves a
lively consciousness, that their own conduct had not corresponded to
this their assumed superiority in point of intellect and judgement.
Wst. || ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς. Instead of proceeding with ἀλλ' εἰ ὑμεῖς (which
would have been the regular construction) the orator turns directly
to the Athenians. So in the Oratio de Rebus Chersonesi, p. 27, c fin.,
ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς. || αὐτοί, of yourselves; from your own experience. || ὅτε
. . . ποιῆσαι, on condition of doing nothing at present; if you may but
do nothing at present; the aor. inf. to exclude any single act. (Völm.
reads ποιῆν.) Baiter and Sauppe have adopted this reading from
the best MS. (Σ). There are, however, many various readings;
F. and Wst. read ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν ποιῆσαι, from (= in consequence
of) having done nothing, &c. || λήσετε . . . πάντα ὑπομείναντες,
will find unexpectedly that you have submitted to every thing (even
the worst that can be conceived); have allowed every thing, even
the very worst, to befall you.—πάντα is opposed to μηδέν.

PAGE 21, § 7. [§ 28, p. 72.]

τῶν ὑμῖν πρακτέων. Cf. Isoc. 15, 59: πολλῶν ἐστὶ μοι λεπτῶν 7
δυνάτων. Xen. Cyr. 7, 5, 7: πολιορκητίους φημὶ εἶναι τοὺς ἀνδρας. A
Wst.

ὕδωρ πίνων. "Philocrates was impeached by Hypereides as a
traitor (Ol. 109, 1)." For an account of him see p. 96 of my ed.
of the Orat. de Corona. "Demosthenes was often turned into ridicule
by this man and his partisans. On one occasion, when they were
opposed to each other, Philocrates said, with a sneer, 'It is no
wonder that we disagree. He drinks water, and I drink wine'
(Or. de Fals. Leg.). The name of water-drinker was used by the
ancients to indicate a poor spiritless creature, incapable of any thing
great or generous. Hence Horace (1 Epist. 19, 2): 'Nulla placere
diu nec vivere carmina possunt, Quæ scribuntur aquæ potoribus.'"
J.—ὕδωρ δὲ πίνων οὐδὲν ἀντίκειναι καλόν was a proverb. Rost.
|| δῶστορος . . . τις. Gr. 1027 (800) § 659, 4. || ἐὰν παρὰ ἑλθῃ, i.e.
through Thermopylæ. || Θεσπιάς, κ.τ.λ. Cf. De Pace, p. 13, A, B.
|| τέλει = ἀναλώμασιν. Phot. || διορύξει. "The project of cut-
ting through the isthmus of the Chersonesus, between Pteleon and
Leuke-Acte, is also mentioned in the Oratio de Halon. This would
have completely separated the Athenian settlements on the penin-
Phil. Dem.

(P. sulas from Thrace, and been a protection against the assaults of their northern neighbours." J.

c τοῖς ἐγγόνους. "The circumstance of the Athenians having pledged their descendants as well as themselves to this peace, is emphatically alluded to by Demosthenes in another place (de Fals. Leg. § 46), where he says, There were some who expected that you would repent of having concluded a peace with Philip: but to these it was answered, that you had extended its provisions even to your descendants, so that they could expect nothing more on our part. Now this, in my opinion, is the worst grievance of all. In a treaty of peace with a mortal, whose power is the result of circumstances which may change at any moment; to perpetuate your city's shame, and cut her off from all chances of future good fortune; and to be so far the slaves of his wicked will as to acquiesce in the disfranchisement, not only of the present generation, but of Athenian citizens yet unborn—is not this, I pray you, the very lowest depth of baseness? Surely you would never have permitted the insertion of those words, 'and also for our descendants,' if you had not at that time believed the promises of Aeschines." J.—ἐγγονοὶ = *posteri*; ἐγγονοὶ, *posteræ*. F. || πρὸς τὰς ἐλπίδας, according to your hopes; such were the hopes you entertained. He refers to the hopes they were led to entertain by their treacherous ambassadors and others, that the peace would be highly conducive to their interests. || θεῶν = *ἐν ἰδεῖ*. F. || ἐρῶ . . . καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρίνομαι, i.e. *aperte dicam*. Cf. 8, 73, 13, 10, 19, 3. ἐρῶ καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρίνομαι, 24, 104, 200. ἐρῶ καὶ οὐ σιωπήσομαι, 45, 83. Mätzner ad Antiph. 2, 2, 5. Interpp. ad Hom. H. i. 1. F. || οὐχ ἵνα, κ.τ.λ., not that, by breaking out into invectives, I may procure for myself as fair a hearing at your hands as they receive, whilst I furnish a fresh opportunity to those who have attacked me, of again receiving something on a new score from Philip, &c. So V., Wst.: *ὅπως πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχει τῶν μὲν λοιδοριῶν καὶ τῶν κατηγοριῶν ἀποθεῖν ἡδέως*. De Pac. p. 57, § 4.—*εἰς λοιδορ. ἐμπεπτωκώς* = *ad conspectus delapsus*. Cf. *εἰς λόγους ἐμπίπτωκα*, de Cor. § 42 [§ 18]. V. Jn. *ἐξ ἀρχῆς παράσχω*. Cf. F. Leg. 151, *ἐξ ἀρχῆς (denuo) ἡθέλησε πολεμεῖν* . . . [But F. gives a different meaning to the passage: not that, being assailed by the invectives (of my adversaries), I may win myself as fair a hearing (and no more) as you grant to them, &c.] || ὡς ἄλλως, *temere*. F. || τὰ νυνὶ, at present; now. The phrase might mean, his present operations; the present state of things. || τὸ . . . πῶγμα, the thing I am speaking of; the danger. || βουλευμένη ἂν . . . Cf. Lys. 12, 22 (where there is a similar omission of *μὲν*): *ἐγὼ δ' ἐβουλόμην ἂν αὐτοὺς ἀληθῆ λέγειν, νῦν δέ, κ.τ.λ.* F.

d τοῦτ', i.e. the state of mind I have spoken of; the time when you will feel Philip's conduct more deeply than you now do. || ἀμελεῖν *ἐξουσία*, where *τοῦ ἀμελεῖν* might be used. Cf. *ἐξουσία ποιεῖν*, p. 24, c; *ἡσυχία πράττειν*, p. 31, A, &c. || τῶν πρόσβρων, of the ambassadors who were bribed by Philip, when they went to him about the peace. || ἐφ' οἷς is to be connected with *δεωρηκότες*, the ambassadors were to hold their tongues about those objects, with reference to which (i.e. for the furtherance of which) they knew that the bribes they

had received were paid. On the construction cf. Gr. 1103 (836) (P. § 682, 2. || διὰ τούτους, through them; by their means or co-operation. 21). || τὰ πολλὰ, *ut plurimum, plerumque*. F. || ἐνίοις, he speaks indefinitely, but means the Athenians. || τοὺς ὑπὸ χεῖρα μάλιστα, those whom you can most easily lay your hands on, = τοὺς ὑστάτους περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπὶόντας, Olynth. 1, 16. || τὴν ὀργὴν ἀφίεναι = *iram effundere, to vent your rage* [to point your anger against: L.]. || συνίσταται, *is forming; is in process of formation*; i. e. before it is *a fait accompli*.

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περὶ τῶν δικαίων, i. e. about the rights confirmed to you and your dependencies by the terms of the peace with Philip. || ὑπὲρ τῶν ἑξω πραγμάτων, i. e. about the defence of your foreign dependencies. || ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, on which the peace was ratified. Scirophorion, 16 (June 13). Ol. 108, 2. || οὐδὲν ἂν ἦν . . . πρῶγμα, *there would (now) have been no trouble (difficulty), &c.* || δέπου, κ.τ.λ. So Ol. 2, 25. Fals. Leg. 153: οὔτε γὰρ κατὰ γῆν παρελθὼν οὔτε ναυσὶ κρατήσας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἤξειν ἐμελλεν, ὑμεῖς δ' ἐκείνου παραχρῆμα, εἰ μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιοίη, κλείσειν τὰ ἐμπόρια καὶ χρημάτων τ' ἐν σπάνει καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐν πολιορκίᾳ πάλιν αὐτὸν καταστήσειν, ὥστ' ἐκείνος ὁ δουλεύων ἐμελλεν ἴσασθαι τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς εἰρήνης λυσιτελοῦσιν, οὐχ ὑμεῖς. F. || κρατήσας = ἐκράτησεν ἂν καὶ. F.

Φωκίας = the territory of the Phocians. || δι' ὧν = οἷος ἦν δι' ὧν. Cf. Aesch. 3, 137: οὔτε Φρυγῶνδας οὔτε Εὐρύβατος . . . τοιοῦτος μάγος καὶ γόης ἐγένετο, δς, κ.τ.λ. i. e. οἷος οὗτός ἐστιν, δς, κ.τ.λ. || ὡς δ' ἂν ἔχει. κ.τ.λ., "*utinam ne fiat, ut ea, quae dixi de proditoribus accusatissime comprobentur*." F. On ὡς ἂν c. opt. cf. Gr. 1312, § 810 (cf. Aristoph. Av. 1338: γενοίμαν αἰετὸς ἐφ' ἡμίτας, ὡς ἂν ποταθείην, i. e. "*ut, si forte, volem s. ut volare possim*"). F.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

ORATIO DE REBUS CHERSONESI.

- ^A We learn from Dionysius, that this Oration was delivered in the third year of the 109th Olympiad, and, as appears from p. 25, c (*ἀν ὑπὸ τῶν πνευμάτων, κ.τ.λ.*), before the setting in of the Etesian winds¹.

The Thracian Chersonese, which forms the western coast of the Hellespont, afforded a continuous shelter to the mariner in his passage through that strait; a navigation of the greatest importance to the trade of Athens, principally as regarded the importation of grain from the countries bordering on the Euxine. As early as the time of Pisistratus, the Athenians had obtained a footing there (*Hdt.* 6, 34—41); and, at a later period, no exertions were spared to extend their influence, or regain possession of the territory of which, from time to time, they had been deprived. Nor did they disdain to adopt towards the inhabitants of the neighbouring country of Thrace the policy which they so severely censured in Philip, of stirring up feuds, for the purpose of securing their own settlements against any combined attack². In the Peloponnesian war the whole of this territory was wrested from the Athenians, who did not regain possession of the Chersonese until the third year of the 105th Olympiad, when the distracted state of his dominions compelled Kersobleptes, one of the sons of Kotys, to make over to them the entire peninsula³, with the exception of Cardia. The possession of this territory having been guaranteed to them afresh in the peace with Philip (*Ol.* 108, 2), who had been gradually extending his settlements on the coast of Thrace, and had expelled Kersobleptes from his kingdom, the Athenians sent out a body of armed citizens to the Chersonese, nominally as colonists, but in reality to act as an army of observation. These settlers

¹ Consequently before the commencement of the dog-days.

² Demosthenes (*Or.* c. *Aristocr.* § 103), speaking of the various causes by which the aggrandizement and security of Athens and her colonies were promoted, says, "Believe me, it is no small

advantage to our countrymen in the Chersonese, that the Thracians are so feeble as they are; their dissensions and their mistrust of one another are our best and surest protection."

³ See *Or.* c. *Aristocr.* § 8, sqq.

were commanded by Diopieithes, who probably received instructions A to watch the movements of Philip, and avail himself of every opportunity which might present itself of diminishing the influence of the king, and strengthening the position of Athens in the Chersonese. No sooner had these new Cleruchi taken possession of their allotments, than the Cardians, the ancient enemies of Athens, raised a dispute respecting the boundary-line; and, Diopieithes having attacked them with a body of mercenary troops, they applied for and obtained assistance from their ally, the king of Macedonia. It would appear that, shortly after these events, Kersobleptes, taking advantage of Philip's being engaged in a war with the Odryseæ, again raised his head⁴; and Diopieithes at the same time seized on certain Thracian cities⁵ belonging to the Macedonians, and carried off several prisoners, and a considerable amount of booty. On receiving intelligence B of these proceedings, Philip entered Thrace; but, Diopieithes having withdrawn into the interior, he was obliged to content himself with addressing a letter to the Athenians, in which he accused their general of having violated the conditions of the peace. The letter also contained, in all probability, a repetition of the demands which he had made on a former occasion, that the Cardians should not be disturbed in the possession of their territory, and that the dispute respecting the boundary-line should be submitted to arbitration: as well as a threat that force would be employed in the event of their refusal to comply with his requisitions. The friends of Macedonia, or, more correctly speaking, perhaps, those who dreaded a foreign war, were not slow to avail themselves of the opportunity which now presented itself, of advancing the interests of their party. Speeches of the most violent character were delivered, C in which they denounced the leader of the Athenian Cleruchi as a disturber of the peace, and, in addition to the charges brought against him by Philip, accused him of extortion, in having, when greatly in want of money, required a subsidy from certain cities of Asia. There was every reason to fear that the result of these accusations would be the dissolution of the army of the Chersonese, the only barrier against the aggression of the king of Macedonia in that quarter. Demosthenes had long since urged his countrymen to maintain an army there, in order to avail themselves of recent favorable circumstances, and this advice the Athenians had been wise enough to follow; but now they seemed inclined to throw away all the advantages which they had gained, and suffer their possessions in the Chersonese again to be wrested from them, as had been the case in former times. To meet this danger Demosthenes came forward, and delivered the 'Oration on the affairs of the Chersonese.' D By many it was called a defence of Diopieithes⁶; but although this was, to a certain extent, its object, it had undoubtedly a still higher

⁴ Diodor. 16, 17.

⁵ See Philip's letter.

⁶ *ὡς περ Διοπειθέου*, as some Scholiasts give its title. This Diopieithes is sup-

posed to have been the father of the comic poet Menander. See Meineke de Vita Menandri, p. 24.

- A aim. Of course the conduct of Diopceithes, even if all the charges against him were proved, would appear less culpable to those who thought with Demosthenes, than to the Macedonian party at Athens : but his fate was a matter of indifference to Demosthenes, in comparison with the interests of the Athenian commonwealth, which required, above all things, a wholesome mistrust of their restless enemy, and the adoption of active measures against the increasing dangers, which threatened them on every side. In accordance with this view, the orator repudiates the notion of those who would attach undue importance to the conduct of Diopceithes, instead of instituting an inquiry into the condition of the country, the disposition of Philip, and the fact, which was only too notorious, of the peace having been violated
- B by him, and not by Diopceithes. He then goes on to speak at considerable length of the causes which render the conduct of Philip a subject of anxiety, the advantages which he has taken of the Athenians, and the objects which he has been steadily pursuing ; and implores his countrymen not to destroy with their own hands the only barrier which could withstand the torrent of their enemy's ambitious violence. Far wiser would it be to maintain, to the utmost of their power, the force, which had been hitherto so miserably insufficient for the defence of their possessions in the Chersonese. He then condemns, in strong language, the indifference of the people, and the unprincipled conduct of those who would take advantage of their inactivity ; denounces, in the name of the Hellenic nations, the supineness of Athens, and adduces satisfactory proofs of the activity of the Macedonian being directed against Athens and the liberties
- C of Greece. Under such circumstances peace would be disgraceful : the only choice left to them was between war and slavery. These ideas are developed in a manner calculated to excite a wholesome shame in the minds of his hearers, and to stimulate them to vigorous action. For the object of the orator is not to win, as others had done, the approbation of the multitude by flattering speeches, but to rouse them to action by words of honest condemnation. Then follows a noble and eloquent defence of himself against the charge of confining his services to mere words ; and certainly nothing can be more judicious or better calculated to rekindle the smouldering embers of patriotic enthusiasm, than the manner in which he introduces, parenthetically as it were, the example of Timotheus, whose eloquence in other days had stimulated the people to exertions which
- D were crowned with the most abundant success. This speech of Demosthenes produced the desired effect : for he boasts at a later period (Ol. 112, 3) of having saved the Chersonese by his exertions ; and we learn from Philip's letter to the people of Athens, that no punishment was inflicted on Diopceithes. Auger tells us, that this general was afterwards slain in a battle against Philip ; but cites no authorities in support of his assertion.

NOTES

TO THE

ORATIO DE REBUS CHERSONESI.

PAGE 23, § 1. [§ 1, p. 90.]

ὕβρις. Gr. 790 (632) § 858, 3. || ὑπινδύποι' αἰτίᾳ [Gr. 1459, k, (P. § 723, 1), for some causes or other. From the nature of the preceding 23). cause, φιλονεικία, it is sufficiently implied that the indefinite cause 1 or causes, which he does not stop to name, are of an unworthy kind. Δ || ἀφελόντας, having removed or put aside. So 23, 20: ὅταν μὲν λίγω περὶ τῶν νόμων, ἀφελὼν ὅτι τὸ ψήφισμα εἶρηται καὶ ποίῳ τινὶ σκοπεῖσθω. P. || ἣ μὲν σὺν σπουδῇ . . . τῶν δὲ λόγων. These clauses may be resolved by a clause with *whereas*, *whilst*, and a principal sentence: *whereas our real concern (σπουδῇ) is, &c.; most of the speeches that have been made, &c.* || ἐνδέκατον μῆνα τουτονὶ . . . ποιῶνται, has now been engaged for the last ten months and more; i.e. the present month is the *deventh*. Cf. Gr. 740 (594).

δοῦναι . . . αἰτιᾶται τινα τούτων. Gr. 963 (761). || ἐφ' ἑμὶν ἐστίν, it is in your power. Cf. p. 31, v, *extr.* Diopieithes was an Athenian subject, and hence might be punished for his misdeeds at any convenient time; but the aggressions of Philip required immediate attention. C. || Ἰπ. κολάζειν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους. || κἂν (= καὶ ἰάν) . . . δοκῇ, κ.τ.λ., i.e. ἡγοῦμαι ἔγχωρεῖν σκοπεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν ὑμῖν, κἂν δοκῇ ἤδη (σκοπεῖν) κἂν ἐπισχοῦσι. The adv. ἤδη is opposed to the dat. partep. ἐπισχοῦσι (to you, having foreborne, =) after a delay; after a time. || ἱσχυρίζεσθαι, to insist upon (enixe urgere). || δοῦναι . . . περὶ αὐτῶν, κ.τ.λ. After a relative, the Greeks often placed the *tondeus* αὐτός (which then regularly does not take the first place) instead of οὗτος. Thus Lys. 25, 11: ἐγὼ τοίνυν ἡγοῦμαι δοῦναι μὲν ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ ἄνθρωποι ἥσαν εὐθύναντες διδωκότις . . . προσήκειν αὐτοῖς ἐτίρας ἐπιθυμεῖν πολιτείας. Ws. || κἂν, α [quæ] si. || περὶ τούτων δὲ. The δὲ is *resumptive* in apodosis. Gr. 1458, p, 1. § 770, 1, a. Τούτων is here retrospective, referring back to δοῦναι δ'. It resumes the subject with emphasis, and to increase the emphasis repeats the δὲ. See Jelf's Kühner, § 658. C. || βεβουλεύεσθαι. The perf. infin. here denotes *speedy accomplishment*. Cf. Phil. 1, 19: ἀ πᾶσι διδόνθαι φημί δεῖν καὶ παρσκευάσθαι προσήκειν οἰομαι. || περὶ τῶν ἄλλων,

- (P. 23). *about the other matters*, which are of less pressing importance; he alludes to what Diopieithes was doing and preparing to do. || τῶν ἄλλων, sc. περὶ ὧν Διοπειθὴς πράττει καὶ μίλλει ποιεῖν. F. || θεωρήσεις. Causal dat. (*on account of the clamours*.) So κατηγορίας. C. || ἀπὸ τούτων ἀποδρᾶναι, (*to run off*; =) *to be diverted from these*.—ἀποδιδράσκω, aor. 2. Cf. Gr. 467 (372), i. § 252, 14.

§ 2. [§ 4, p. 91.]

- 2 οὐδένος ἥττον = οὐχ ἥττον τινος, *not less than any thing*, i. e. as much as any thing = *most of all*. || ἐν τῇ βουλῇ. "Into which Demosthenes had been admitted, in the Archonship of Themistocles, a little after the taking of Olynthus: and, as Aeschines would have us believe, by intrigue and bribery." L. || ὥς ἔρα, *that forsooth*. Gr. 1449, c (1046) § 788. || ἔστι δέ, an anacoluthon. He was going to say εἰρήνην ἀγεῖν, but after the interposed words, οὐκίτι δέι λῆγειν, he proceeds differently. F. || συσκαυάξεται, *is*, as it were, *packing them up*; *forming a party of them against you*, i. e. *is exciting them against you*.

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- A καὶ τά γε . . . ὅρῳ, *and matters, at least on your side, I see prepared for this*, i. e. for keeping the peace. C.—This is an indirect censure of their tame and peaceful attitude. Wst. || ἃ μὲν ὑπόστανται, *what we swore to*, i. e. the articles of the treaty of peace made with Philip at the close of the Amphipolitan war. C.—|| ἐφ' οἷς, *the conditions upon which*. || τοὺς κληρούχους. The settlers sent out with Diopieithes, to squat upon the Chersonesus. C.—κληρούχοι were public colonists, sent out by the Athenians to occupy the lands of conquered cities: each of them received his allotment (κληρος). || πεποισμένοι τὸν πόλεμον (*of having made*, =) *as the authors of the war*, i. e. that which he foresees as certain. || ὑπὲρ ὧν . . . ταυτὶ, *for which here are your ratified decesses complaining of him*. Understand ἔστιν. "Vult Athenienses suo ipsorum gladio jugulare, quasi dicat: nos ipsi decrevistis, pacem esse a Philippo violatam, et tamen dubitatis adhuc, an pro hoste sit habendus?" Wolf.—ταυτὶ = *are here* [Gr. 1014 (796) § 655, 1]. He had copies of them before to refer to, if necessary.—ψηφίσματα is the predicate, ταυτὶ the subject. F. Wst. || τῶν ἄλλων ἄλλων of the other Greeks and barbarians (the Thracians, as F. supposes); ἄλλων belonging to both Ἕλλ. and βαρβάρων. || τί τοῦτο λέγουσιν . . . ; "quidnam est hoc quod dicunt? what is the meaning of this assertion of theirs, that" . . . † || τοῦ πράγματος, *about the matter*. Cf. Phil. 1, (9) ὁρᾷς γὰρ τὸ πρᾶγμα, κ.τ.λ. || ὑπολείπεται, *there is left, there remains to us*, i. e. they were compelled by the aggressions of Philip to turn their attention to this part of the subject, which had been so studiously passed over by the other speakers. C.
- B δ' ὑπερβαλόνουσιν (sc. τῷ λόγῳ), *purposely pass over, studiously omit*. || πλὴν εἰ, nisi si. || εἰ δ' . . . ὀφείλονται, *but if they establish our rights upon these principles, and define the peace thus*, i. e. as is implied in the supposed case which precedes. C.—Ταύτην must not be taken in agreement with εἰρήνην: it is the complement of the predicate [Gr.

716 (562) § 453, b]. If they call it a peace, if Philip does but (P. refrain from invading Attica or the Piræus. || *δήπουθεν*. Gr. 1462 24). (1052, b) § 726, 2, b. || *οὐ μὴν ἀλλά*. Gr. 1444 (1053, a) § 774, 6. JN. *οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ συμβαίνειν αὐτοὺς λῆγαν καὶ αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἰναντία ταῖς κατηγορίαις, ὡς Διοπείθους, κ.τ.λ.*—That is to say, as appears from what follows, the very licence which they claimed for Philip was calculated to destroy the force of their accusations against Diopieithes. C. || *τί γὰρ δὴ ποτε*, for why in the world I should like to know, &c.

ἀλλὰ νῆ Δία, κ.τ.λ., is a form of *derisory* or *ironical objection*. So c Lept. p. 457: *ἀλλὰ νῆ Δία ἐκείνο ἴσως εἶποι*. Devar. et ib. *Klots*. —*ἐξελίχονται*, sc. *οἱ ἐκείνα λήγοντες*, but on these points you will say they are refuted, but, &c. || *περικύπτοντες*, laying waste, ravaging. From the practice of cutting down the fruit-trees in ravaging an enemy's country. C. || *κατάγων*, taking into port, detaining. See De Pace, *prop. fin.* De Cor. § 73 [§ 27, d]. || *ἐπὶ πᾶσι δικαίοις*, in good faith; without any corrupt motive. Cf. *τοὺς . . νόμους τίθισθε ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς δικαίοις οὕτε κέρδους ἵνεκ' ἀδίκου, οὕτε χάριτος οὐτ' ἐχθρας ἀλλὰ πρὸς αὐτὸ μόνον τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ συμφέρον ἀποβλέποντες*. *Æsch. Tim.* 177. || *τὸν ἐφεστήτορα καὶ πορίζοντα χρήματα*. That is, Diopieithes, who seems to have received, or to have taken, a sort of general commission to plunder from Philip, for the state left him to provide his own resources. C.

διαλυθισομένην, will be disbanded also. || *ἐν ἡμέρῃ ταῦτα ποιήσῃτα*. D Gr. 963 (761) § 551, 2. || *εἰ δὲ μή*. Gr. 1464, g (860, f). || *οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιήσιν ἢ . . .* The *ποιήσιν* is sometimes omitted, so that the form becomes *οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ*, κ.τ.λ. So in Latin, both *nihil aliud quam* or *nisi*, &c., and *nihil aliud agere* (or *facere*) *quam* (or *nisi*). F. || *τρέπον*, manner of acting, system. || *δὲ' οὗ*, κ.τ.λ., in consequence of which (system) the present state of things has ruined the commonwealth. || *ἅπαντα* = *rem publicam*. F. [Wst. reads *ἀπόλωλεν*, has been brought to ruin.] || *οὐδενί*, dat. instrumenti. || *κεκράτηκα*, superior factus est. F. || *τῷ πρότερον*. Gr. 1067 (826) § 672, 2. || *δύναμιν συνεστηκυῖαν*. "Perpetuum exercitum, quem alibi (iv. 32) nominat *συνεχῆ παρασκευήν*." Wolf. || *ἐφ' οὗ*, against whom.—*ἐφ'* is used with an acc. what is said about Diopieithes. || *καὶ τὰ νῦν* = *as before*; so now also. —*τὰ νῦν* adverbial, as *τὰ νυνί*, n. on p. 110, c (*ἐντ.*). || *πράττειται*

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δυστηξόντας, though *ὑμῖν* preceded. Gr. 1147 (869) § 711. || *προσ- α* *οφλισκάνειν*, *incor* in addition (*πρός*).

§ 3. [§ 13, p. 93.]

ὅτι καὶ . . . τοῦτο, that these other things are but words and pretexts, 3 *while this is what is really attempted and plotted*.—*λόγοι* and *προφάσεις* are predicates, and hence without the article. C. Cf. *εἰ δὲ ταῦτα λόγους καὶ φλואρίας εἶναι φήσει*, 20, 101. || *τὰλλα . . . ταῦτα*, i.e. what is said about Diopieithes. || *καὶ τὰ νῦν* = *as before*; so now also. —*τὰ νῦν* adverbial, as *τὰ νυνί*, n. on p. 110, c (*ἐντ.*). || *πράττειται*

(P. καὶ κατασκευάζεται, agitur et instruitur. Κατασκευάζεται more 25). nearly defines the general term κρᾶττεται. "Παρασκευάζειν proprie est σκεῦή comparare, deinde omnino comparare aliquid; contra κατασκευάζειν est σκεῦή (παρεσκευασμένα) deponere, i.e. applicare, adhibere ad aliquid instruendum, deinde omnino instruere, exornare aliquid." Krüg. ad Xen. An. 3, 2, 24.

B οἱ παρόντες = οἱ παρῆσαν, who were with Philip, or in the country (Thrace) which was the scene of his operations. || πρῶτον μὲν. "Non sequitur ἔπειτα, sed mutata structuræ ratione, cujus mutationis causa est in verbis interposita, pergitur his verbis: καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ἑαίνο, κ.τ.λ., § 16. Vid. De Pace, § 7." F. || μενῶν ἐπὶ . . . αὐτῆς, will adhere to the same folly; will persist in the same folly, i.e. would continue to reject the alliance of Athens, as they had since the Social War. C. || οὐτε βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀξιώσειν; "In the war of the Confederates the Byzantines had been the allies of the Chians and Rhodians against Athens (Ol. 105. Or. pro Rhodior. Libertat. § 3); and, under the influence probably of ancient mistrust, had rejected the advice of Athens, when she warned them against their perilous alliance with Philip. It is in allusion to this conduct of theirs that Demosthenes speaks of the 'indiscretion of the Byzantines.' The events of the following year justified his forebodings. Byzantium, being attacked by Philip (Ol. 109, 4), applied for aid to the Athenians, who sent out a considerable fleet to the Bosphorus (Diodor. 16, 77), and for the present frustrated the plans of the king. Comp. Plutarch. Life of Phocion." J. || καὶ εἰ, even if. Gr. 1464, g (1053, c) § 861, 2. || καὶ τούτους εὐφρανέσθαι, even these they would receive, i.e. as coadjutors, allies, or protectors. C. || μὴ θυμαίνων, on account of the Etesian winds. || ἀπολαλεῖν, intrans., to perish, and in the perf. to denote the certainty of the act, as if already accomplished. See n. on βεβουλεῦσθαι, p. 116, foot. C. || νῆ Δία, yes; and well they may. It supposes some one to approve of letting the Byzantines perish on account of their perverseness.

C πάνν γε, most assuredly; no doubt; a common formula in answers of assent. Cf. Plat. Gorg. 453, D. Gr. 1381 (996) § 880. || καὶ μὴν. Gr. 1482 (1053, l) § 728, c. || ἐπιστολῆς, which he sent them from Thrace, complaining of the conduct of Diopieithes. C. || ἡ τὸ συν-εστηκός, i.e. the army already raised and under the command of Diopieithes. || νῆ Δία, to be sure; you will say. A supposed dialogue between the orator and an opponent. C. || καὶ τί . . . ; and in what respect will? &c. On ἀλλὰ . . . ἀλλά at the commencement of the replies, cf. Gr. 1444, j. || ὑπό, by = on account of. Used of the Etesian winds blowing steadily from the north.

D ὁρᾶτε καὶ λογιζέσθε. We have the reversed order in 18, 185, λογιζοῦ καὶ ὄρα. || τινες, those who were for recalling Diopieithes and his army. || μὴδὲ . . . μὴδὲ, not even . . . nor yet. Gr. 1493, f. § 776, 2. || ἐπὶ Χαλκίδα . . . Ὀρεόν. "Chalcis and Oreos, cities of Eubœa. Philip had obtained possession of the latter by treachery (probably about Ol. 109½). About the same time an attempt on Megara miscarried." J.

ΠΑΡΑ 26, § 4. [§ 19, p. 94.]

συνεμποροῦντας, *suppeditantes*. Cf. 33, 6, τράκοντα δὲ μνᾶς (P. *ιδεῖτό μου οὕτοσι συνεμπορήσαι*. 27, 49, τοὺς ταῦτα συνεμπορή- 26). *σαντας*. Cf. Maestm. ad Lye. 139. F. || χρημάτων. Partitive gen. 4 after συνεμποροῦντας. — As 50, 72, συνεμπορήσας ἀναλωμάτων. A F. || οὐκίως, i. e. ὡς δεῖ, ut usus postulat. Wolf. In a friendly or cordial way. J. And so Wst. || τοὺς ὅποιουσιν αὖ, those of whatever sort; those represented as so bad; since the forms with -σύν often involve a disparaging force. || εὐθενεῖν, to flourish. C. — Εὐθενεῖν “vel, quod bonibus tribuitur, εὐθηνεῖν ‘rigorem et vitalitatem, εὐσθενεῖν robur declarat. Et illud quidem maxime proprie de suco sanitatis et corporis incremento deque uberi proventu et aucta, sed non minus apte de prospero rerum publicarum privatarumque successu, deque omni ubertate et affluentia dicitur.” Lobeck. ad Phryn. p. 466. Cf. 19, 231: τὴν πόλιν εὐθενεῖσθαι. F. || συνεργίζομεν, co-operating with them. || ταῦτ’, the latter. So § 3, D, εἰν.: ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι τοῦτο. C. — ταῦτ’, i. e. τὸ διασκ. καὶ διαφθ. F. || εἰς . . . εἰς. Expressing indignation at such inconsistency. Cf. Gr. 1358 (979) § 874, 6.

ἡδὲν, whence, from what cause, = how.

§ 5. [§ 21, p. 95.]

ἱεράσαι. Cf. Xen. Cyr. 6, 2, 35: τὰ μὲν οὖν εἰς τροφὴν δίδοντα 5 αἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν ὀπλοφόρων ἱεράζετε τοὺς ἐφ’ ὅμιν αὐτοῖς. Pl. Lach. 189, D: ἴσως οὐ κακῶς ἔχει ἱεράζειν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἡμᾶς αὐτούς. Ws. || τῇ πόλει, dpt on παρόντα. || αὐτοῖς, referring to πράγματα. C. || στρατεύεσθαι, sc. βουλόμηναι. || τῶν κοινῶν, sc. τ. λ. “By the public property is here meant that income of the state, which originally was intended to defray the expenses of carrying on war, but which is now expended as a Theoricon. The history of the theatre-money, which Demosthenes here seeks to apply to a different purpose, is as follows: After the thirty years’ truce, which Athens had concluded with Lacedæmonia (Ol. 83, 4); 1000 talents were annually deposited in the treasury, with an understanding that they should remain untouched, unless the state were at any time threatened with imminent peril. This regulation was violated by Pericles. It had long been the practice, in order to prevent disputes and scrambling for places, to require from every citizen, as well as foreigner, an obolus as the price of admission. In order to relieve the citizens from this payment, Pericles proposed that, out of the fund set apart for contingencies, two oboli should be given to every Athenian freeman, one to pay for his seat at the theatre, and the other as a compensation for his loss of time. This plan was adopted, but without altogether diverting the reserve-fund from the purpose for which it was originally set apart. When, however, Apollodorus (Ol. 106, 4), many years afterwards, proposed that the fund should again be applied to the object for which it had been diverted by Pericles, a law was passed at the suggestion of Eubulus, imposing the penalty of death on any citizen who should thenceforward propose the conversion of the theatre-money into a war-fund, μετα-

(P. ποιῖν τὰ θεωρικὰ στρατιωτικά." J. || τὰς συντάξεις, the necessary supplies from the public chest.

C τούτοις is the dat. ἀπὸ ἐναντιουμένοις = τοῖς τῆς πόλεως ἀξία λέγουσιν. || οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω, I have nothing to say.—τι. Gr. 1366 (987) § 877, obs. 2, and 1372 (992).

§ 6. [§ 24, p. 96.]

6 ἡ . . . τιμῶμαι, aut (i. e. si mendax deprehendar) quous me D supplicio dignum fateor. F.—τιμᾶσθαι is not only the act of the accuser fixing the penalty which he thinks the accused should pay, but also that of the accused stating what penalty he thinks due to his offence. Gr. 893, fin. || Ἐρυθραίων. "Cives Erythrae, urbis Ionicæ, dicit." F. || τούτων . . . λέγω. Cf. 19, 152: περὶ τῶν δὲ μειζόνων, λέγω δὲ Φωκίων καὶ Πυλῶν. F. || χρήματα λαμβάνουσιν. That is, for the support of their soldiery. These levies were called benevolences (εὐνοίας, see below), when made upon their allies. || ἀντ' οὐδενός, for nothing. For these benevolences they received in turn, as appears from what follows, protection to their commerce, &c.

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A ἐμπόρους, merchants, traders. || παραπείθεσθαι, to be escorted. || τὰ τοιαῦτα, and so on. "Sæpius Demosthenes, ubi res aliquot enumeravit, hoc pronomen in cumulum addit, articulo nunc præposito, nunc omisso. Cf. Phil. iii. 49 [§ 9, c]." Sch. So in Lat. reliqua, similia, cetera, omnia, &c. are used (asyndetically) in summing up a series. Pr. Intr. ii. 210. || εὐνοίας, benevolences. See just above. || καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν, and so also in the present case. The second καὶ belongs to the νῦν. The first καὶ (enforced by δὴ) = et ita; et sic. Cf. Pr. Intr. ii. 397, 398. Kai δὴ has here what Hartung calls its force of lively and spirited annexation with added importance. Pr. Intr. ii. 281. || οἷσθε . . . τρέφειν = will support or maintain. Gr. 1087 (830) § 405, obs. 2. || ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ; from the skies? || οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα, impossible. || προσαιτέι, begs in addition, i. e. to the usual benevolences. || ἀπὸ, as in ζῆν ἀπὸ, &c., of the source or means by which a man supports himself, &c. || διάγει = διαζῆ, maintains himself (i. e. himself and his army); prop. he gets through, gets along. || προλέγουσιν, proclaim.

B ὅς . . . δέσσοντι = on the ground that he is going to be punished. || τοῦ μελήσσει, sc. ποιῖν, for intending to do something.—Kai refers to the not giving him means; he not only, they argued, deserves no funds, but is, moreover, going to be punished. || μή τι . . . γὰρ, nedium, &c. Gr. 1481, § 721, 2. || τούτ' εἰσὶν οἱ λόγοι, lit. their speeches are this (sc. which I have just described) = their speeches come to this ("this is the meaning of their clamours." L.). The persons alluded to are the enemies of Diopithes; and the subject of their speeches follows. || μάλλει πολιτοκτείν, i. e. some city or cities that refused him the money or provisions he applied for. || ἐκδίδωσι, i. e. giving them up to his soldiers. "These words are rightly interpreted by Auger, as referring to the rapacity of the mercenary troops, and the acts of violence which they committed. Diopithes, like Chares

and other generals, was in the habit, when he wanted money, of (P. extorting contributions from the maritime cities of Asia. Some- 27.) times, as we learn from Demosthenes himself (Aristocrates), these leaders endeavoured to obtain possession of some Hellenic city, for the purpose of establishing a tyranny. Under such circumstances we may well suppose that the mercenary soldier was an object of hatred. Isocrates expresses his surprise, that such a description of force should be maintained at an enormous cost, merely, as it would seem, for the purpose of embarrassing the operations of the commander-in-chief. See note on Ἀράβαζος, p. 67, c." J. || μέλει γάρ τινι, κ.τ.λ. The orator is here speaking. The indefinite τις is used in the sense of *many a one*: "*for many of these good people are interested about,*" &c. He then exposes the hollowness of their pretended interest in the welfare of the Asiatic Greeks: ἀμείνους εἶναι, sc. if they did this (εἰ μέλοι, κ.τ.λ.). μὲν τὰν, μὲν τοι ἂν (μῆντοι ἂν). || ἀμείνους . . . κηδεσθαι, lit. (if they did) *they would be better hands at caring for,* &c.: on ἀγαθὸς ποιεῖν τι, cf. Gr. 1043 (809) § 666, iii. || τό γε . . . ἐλσώμηναι, and the sending, &c.; i. e. the proposal to send another general, probably either to observe and check Diopieithes, or to force him to lay down his command. This proposal must have been put forward by the enemies of Diopieithes. || τοῦτ' ἐστίν here relates to what follows [Gr. 1012 (793, n. 8) § 656, 6, extr.] = *really means this*. || κατόγει. See above, p. 93, d; 117, c. || πυνάκιον, small tablet: i. e. a citation sent out to summon him to appear at Athens to defend himself against an impeachment (εἰσαγγελία). || ταῦτα τοὺς ἀδ. JN. τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας ταῦτα, *those who commit (these =) such wrongs*. Gr. 946 (747) § 548, c, f. || οὐ μὰ Δία . . . τριήρεσι, κ.τ.λ. "We must conclude from these words, that the adversaries of Diopieithes had required that a fleet should be sent out to the Hellespont to watch the movements of the accused." J.

λαβεῖν ὑπὸ τοῖς νόμοις = λαβεῖν ὥστε εἶναι ὑπὸ τοῖς νόμοις. *We c* should say, to bring them under our laws. || δεῖ καὶ ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν, the first of a moral necessity or fitness, the second of the compulsory force of outward circumstances. || ἐπὶ δ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς, against ourselves = our own citizens. || ψήφισμα, a vote of the popular assembly. || εἰσαγγελία, impeachment. || Πάραλος. This sacred vessel was also used on many public occasions (and sometimes in war); especially to bring home state criminals. || ἐπηρεάζοντων, here used absolutely, or with the indefinite reference, ἄλλω τινί, not Διοπίθει, for the expression is general. Wst. Ἐπήρεια, "malitiosa vexandi et nocendi cupiditas." Dissen. See note on Or. de Cor. § 7, b [my ed.]. || δεινὸν δὲ οὐ δεινὸν ἐστίν, though horrible is not horrible (in the full sense of the word), but what follows is so. It may be construed *bad as it is, is not the worst*. || ἄλλ' ὑμεῖς. Properly, in order to correspond to the preceding part of the sentence, we should have here τὸ δὲ ὑμᾶς . . . οὕτως ἤδη διακείσθαι δεινὸν ἐστίν: but the construction is changed, in order to avoid expressing so unwelcome a truth, which is left to be inferred. C. With this structure cf. Phil. ii. p. 20, d. || καθήμενοι, Phil. Dem.

(P. *sitting*, i. e. in the Assembly, and hence "hearing," which is the 27). meaning here. C.

- D. Ἀριστοφῶν. "Aristophon is mentioned, together with Eubulus and Diopeithes, in the Orat. de Corona, with the addition of his surname, the Colyttian, to distinguish him from the Azenian of the same name, who seems to have been no longer alive when this oration was delivered. A third Aristophon is mentioned as Archon Ol. 112, 3." J. But Aristophon the Azenian is the person meant according to F. and Wst. || φαρὲ καὶ θορυβεῖτε, you assent with shouts of approbation *that*, &c. Cf. θορυβοῦντες ὡς ὀρθῶς λέγεται, Phil. ii. § 6. Gr. 1201 (893) § 800. || εἰ, before a quotation given in its exact words. Gr. 1212 (897) § 802, b. || πρᾶγμα, trouble, difficulty. || οὐχ ἔχετε ἀντιλέγειν, κ.τ.λ. Gr. 1177 (884) § 750, obs. 1. || ὥσπερ ἀπολλύναι τι, i. e. to lose Diopeithes as an object whom they could visit with their vengeance, whereas Philip could not so easily be reached. || αἴτιον δὲ τούτων, κ.τ.λ. So in De Cor. § 108 [§ 45 my ed.], τὸ δ' αἴτιον ἐν τοῖς πένησιν ἦν τὸ λειτουργεῖν. || ἔνεκα τοῦ βελτίστου ἔνεκα may either precede or follow its word, but, perhaps, more frequently follows it. C. || παρεσκευάσιν ἡμᾶς . . . φοβεροῦς ὥστε εἶναι φοβερούς, proleptis acc., have rendered you formidable. Gr. 643 (523) § 439, 2.

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- A. ὅν ἴστε . . . αὐτοῖς, i. e. "si civis aliquis accusatur, qui vobis elabi non potest." Wolf. || φαρὲ καὶ βούλεσθε, you say yes, and wish for him, i. e. wish to take and punish him. C. || ὅν κρατήσαντας τοῖς ὅπλοις (sc. ἔστι κολάσαι), ἄλλως δ' οὐκ ἔστι, lit. whom it is possible to punish, after you have conquered him by your arms, but otherwise impossible = whom it is not possible for you to punish, till you have conquered him by your arms. || ἐξελεγχόμενοι, sc. οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅ τι ποιῆτε. || τούναντίον ἢ νῦν cf. 23, 128, τούναντίον ἢ τάληθες ὑπάρχει. Wst. || ἔστι τὰ δίκαια, rights are decided.
- B. τρυφῆν (*luzuriari, inolescere*), to play the great man, the fine gentleman. || κολακεύεσθαι = to get yourselves flattered, to receive flattery. || ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι, in state affairs, in your affairs. || ἐν . . . τοῖς γιγνομένοις, lit. in the things that are taking place = in your manner of dealing with the events of the day. || περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων . . . κινδυνεύω = "res meae in extremum discrimen deductae sunt." || φέρε γάρ, for come: used like εἰπέ without reference to number; its hortatory meaning having become almost adverbial. || λόγον, account. || ἑκάστοτε, on each occasion that occurs. || ὥς = πρὸς. Gr. 1418 (1025) § 626. || ἀνάγκη (sc. ἔστι) begins the apodosis or consequence.
- C. ἀπογεγομένου, has been from home, in Thrace. || μὴ ἂν δύνασθαι, would not be able, however requisite his presence might be. || τὴν Εὐβοίαν. "Philip having (Ol. 106, 3) landed troops on the island of Euboea for the purpose of supporting Clitarchus against Plutarchus, tyrant of Eretria, the latter applied to the Athenians for assistance. The bearer of this message was Midias, a friend and host of the tyrant, whose proposal was vehemently resisted by Demosthenes.

Notwithstanding, however, this opposition, a force was sent to Eubœa, (P. under the command of Phocion (Ol. 106, 4), who found, as we are told by his biographers (Vit. Phoc. c. 12), the island full of traitors, and encountered many difficulties. Notwithstanding, however, these discouraging circumstances, he obtained a victory over the enemy at Tamynæ, and expelled the tyrant of Eretria, probably as a punishment for his treachery." J.—The liberation of Eubœa followed in the next year. *Wst.* || τῶν ὑμετέρων αὐτῶν αὐτῶν is gen. dpt on τῶν ὑμετέρων. The nom. would be τὰ ὑμέτερα αὐτῶν. || σχολὴν ἀγόντων, θηλαιόντων, in perfect ease and health; ironical, of course. || ὁ δὲ . . . τυράννος. "In Oreos Philip had established Philistides as tyrant by the aid of his mercenaries (see 3rd Orat. c. Phil.) and a short time before, by placing Clitarchus in Eretria, exactly opposite the Athenian coast, had converted the place into a bulwark against (ἐπιτειχίσας) Athens. Skiathus is a small island situated north of Eubœa. No mention is made by any other author of a tyrant being established there." J. || ἐπιτειχίσας = ἐπιτειχίσμα παρασκευάσας, having fixed him, like a hostile fortress, just opposite Attica. || ἐπὶ Σκιάθον, see last note but one. || δῆλον ὅτι = plainly, evidently: = δῆλόν (ἔστιν) ὅτι which, like (εὖ) οἶδ' ὅτι, is usually inserted parenthetically.

κινήσεσθε, will stir. || τί ἐροῦμεν ἢ τί φήσομεν, "quid dicemus D (respondebimus) aut quid aiemus (affirmabimus)!" Satis erat alterutrum verbum poni, sed orator duo verba posuit, 'sive ut vim augeret interrogationis, sive ut numeris auribusque consuleret. Cf. 21, 202: σὺ δαμοῦ πρόποτε Μειδίας τῶν συνηδομένων οὐδὲ τῶν συγκαίροντων ἐξητάσθη τῷ δήμῳ." Sch. Cf. § 35. || ἐγὼ μὲν, I for one (perhaps others do). In such cases the corresponding adversative clause is sufficiently implied by the emphasis μὲν gives the concessive clause, and hence is not expressed. There are two other cases in which δὲ is omitted after μὲν: either when the opposition is expressed by other adversative words, or when, by the insertion of intervening clauses or qualifying circumstances, the writer loses sight of the antecedent μὲν, and consequently does not employ the corresponding δέ¹. C.

§ 7. [§ 38, p. 99.]

τὸν παρίοντα, him who comes forward, i.e. to address you: "a 7 speaker." Παρίειναι is a verb. proprium to denote this. || οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ = ceruntamen. This is a good example of the elliptical nature of the expression: οὐ μὴν [τοῦτο ἀποκρινόμεναι] ἀλλὰ . . . ἐρῶ. Cf. Gr. 1444 (1053, a) § 774, 6. || ὅπως . . . ἐθέλησουσιν. Gr. 799

¹ "Alii fortasse viderint. Vid. ad 3, 8. Cf. § 59, 9, 15. 'Triplex vero hujus omissionis ratio videtur esse: nam aut prorsus omissionis est membrum e sententiarum nexu supplendum, aut immutata orationis forma in iis ipsis quæ sequuntur inest sententia opposi-

ta, aut denique propter enuntiata cum eo membro, in quo μὲν particula infertur, conjuncta illudque amplificantis orationis principium dicentis vel scribentis animo excidit.'" Mätzner ad Antiph. 2, 1, 7.

(P. (639) § 812, 2. In this *hortatory* formula the verb is generally in the 2d). *second person*. || ὥσπερ . . . οὕτω καί. Pr. Intr. ii. 384 (with the obs.). || γνῶναι, dpt. on χρῆ, borrowed from τί χρῆ ποιεῖν before.

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A τὴν εἰρήνην, the peace of Ol. 108, 2, which, though really broken by both Philip and Diopieithes, still nominally continued. || τῷ τῆς πόλεως ἰδᾶφαι, to the (very) ground on which it stands, i.e. he would not rest till its walls were levelled to the ground, and no city stood on the site which Athens had once occupied. Cf. τὴν πόλιν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τῶν ἰδᾶφων εἰς κίνδυνον μίγιστον ἀποκλείειν, 26, 11. || καὶ τοῖς . . . οἰομένοις. Καί = *etiam*. || Εὐθυκράτη καὶ Λασθένη. Cf. Or. de Cor. p. 13 (my ed.): *μεχρὶ τοῦτου Λασθένης φίλος ὀνομάζετο ἕως προὔδωκεν Ὀλυνθον*.—Observe *προὔδωκεν* in this quotation, and *προὔδωσαν* in our passage. Cf. Gr. 479, d, e (381, d, e). || ἀπολώλασιν. Not both: for, according to Hypereides (Rhett. Gr. ed. Walz, 9, 547), Euthyocrates survived the battle of Chaeronea (Ol. 110, 3; 338). But D. may, by this certainly very strong expression, intend to denote only the abhorrence with which their moral turpitude was regarded throughout Greece. *Wst.* || τῇ πολιτείᾳ = *our democratical* (or *free*) *constitution*; to which *πολιτεία*, in its more restricted sense, was confined. || οὐδὲ ἐν τῶν πάντων ἢ πῶς ταύτην καταλύσει: an hexameter, if we read οὐδ' ἐν. || εἰκότως τρόπον τινά, *naturally enough in some sort*, i.e. from his own point of view.

B δ, sc. *πταίσματα*, to be borrowed from the sing. *πταίσμα*. "Cf. 18, 310: καὶ ἔδωκεν ὁ περιελθὼν χρόνος πολλὰς ἀποδείξεις ἀνδρὶ καλῷ τε ἀγαθῷ, ἐν οἷς οὐδαμοῦ σὺ φανήσῃ γεγονώς." Liv. 22, 57, 3: L. Cantilius, scriba pontificis, *quos nunc minores pontifices appellant*. V. Porson. ad Eurip. Or. 910." *F.* || τὰ νῦν *συμβεβιασμένα*, *those whom he has forcibly collected*; "those whom he hath forced into his service." (*L.*) Since the verbs denote *personal* actions, we must use the masculine: but the neuter describes the persons, together with all their arms, resources, &c., as forming the power which Philip had collected by violence, and held together by violence. || λαβεῖν (sc. ἀρχὴν) *κωλύσαι*. Gr. 1095, 4, § 664, *extr.* || καὶ ἔχοντ' ἀφελίσθαι = καὶ ἀφελίσθαι (ἀρχὴν) ἔχοντα (ἀρχὴν). Cf. Gr. 958 (757) § 583. || ὅλως, *omnino*, in *general*. || ἐνοχλεῖν, to *trouble*, to *harass*. || οὐκουν = *non igitur*. Gr. 1495 (1053, o) § 791, obs. || τὴν παρ' ὑμῶν ἐλευθερίαν ἐφεδρεῖν (τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ καιροῖς). The pupil must take care not to construe this as if it were τὴν παρ' ὑμῖν ἐλευθερίαν, *the liberty that is among you*: it means, *the liberty that is, or proceeds, from you*. *Wst.* explains it, by the *constructio praeagnans*, as = τὴν παρ' ὑμῖν ἐλευθερίαν παρ' ὑμῶν ἐφεδρεῖν, *that your liberty should go forth, as it were, and lie in wait to seize opportunities against him*. But this is not necessary, since he has just spoken of the Athenians helping the other states to recover their liberty. Cf. Ol. 3, § 7, ἣν τοῦτο ὥσπερ ἐμπόδιμα τι τῷ Φιλίππῳ καὶ δυσχερές, πόλιν μεγάλην ἐφορμεῖν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ καιροῖς διηλλαγμένην πρὸς ἡμᾶς (*F.*), and 23, 173, *καίροφυλακεῖν ἑαυτόν*. || οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ = οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ (ἀλλὰ τοῦ πάντος); the force is *far from it, οὐδαμῶς*. It is a favorite

form of D.'s, e.g. Lept. § 20: φανήσεται γὰρ οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δαί τῆς (P. γεννησομένης ἀκίον αἰσχύνης. F. || *ἀργῶς*, properly in a *lasy*, im-29). *practical way* (ἀ. ἔργον); *imprudently, unadvisedly*.

κατασκευάζεται. See above, p. 118, A.—Παρασκευάζεσθαι denotes c the preparatory providing of means, resources, stores, &c.; κατασκευάζεσθαι denotes the employment or application of these. || *δε ὑπολαμβάνει*, as to conceive. Gr. 1248 (923) § 826, 3. || *κακῶν*, our *wretched possessions*. || Δρογγίλον. "The grammarians, who speak of Drongilus with reference to this passage, all place it in Thrace, with the exception of Stephanus of Byzantium, who calls it a Thessalian place, and cites Theopompus in support of his assertion. Cabylé is undoubtedly the same Thracian city which Strabo (vii. p. 320) calls Calybé, and places in Central Thrace. Of Masteira Harpocration can find no notice in any author, and therefore proposes the conjectural emendation of Βάστιραν, Πίστιραν, or Ἐπίμαστον. All these cities he finds mentioned in the seventh book of the Philip-
pic History of Anaximenes." J.

τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἀργυρέων, the silver-mines in the south-eastern D district of Attica (Laurium, &c.). || *μελινῶν μελίνη, μέλινος* (Panicum miliacum. Sprengel), *millet*. || *σιροῖς*. "Quidam granaria habent sub terris, speluncas, quas vocant *σιρούς*, ut in Cappadocia et Thracia. Varro, R. R. 1, 57. coll. 1, 63." F. || *ἐν τῷ βαρέθρῳ*. "A comparison is here drawn between the uncultivated condition of Thrace (horrida Thracia, Catull. iv. 8), and the advantages enjoyed by Attica. The term Barathron is used in allusion to the pit at Athens, into which malefactors were thrown. The Thracians used to keep their stocks of grain in subterraneous caves (*σιροῖς*). The same practice prevailed amongst the tribes of the Caucasus (Curt. 7, 4), and the inhabitants of Cappadocia, whose corn-pits (*σιροί* or *σιροί*) are very minutely described by Varro, de Re Rust. i. 57." J. || *τούτων* = τῶν λεπτῶν καὶ νεωρίων. || *ἀνέλκαστον*, i. e. which is not likened to any thing else; *uncompared*.—*ταύτην* = *this of yours*. || *ἀξιοῦν*, sc. εἰσφ. χρήμ. || *ὅπως . . . συμμενεί*. Gr. 1313 (952) § 811.

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συνεστηκός. Cf. above, n. on § 3, c (p. 118). || *βοηθείαις*. Cf. Phil. A 1, 8, D, *μὴ βοηθείαις πολεμῆν* (ὕστεριούμην γὰρ ἀπάντων), κ.τ.λ., where see the note. || *ταμίαις*, *commissionaries*. || *δημοσίους*, *public officers* or *commissioners*. || *ὅπως ἐν . . . ἀκριβεστάτην*, "*quam fieri potest diligentissima*," &c.—*ἐν* = *ἐνεσσι*.

ὡς ἀληθῶς, in the true sense of the word. || *εἰρήνην δικαίαν*, B properly, *a just peace*. They were now nominally at *peace*, but it was a peace that was not founded on just conditions honourably observed on both sides. On the contrary, from the weakness of Athens, Philip was able to commit *any injustice* he pleased with impunity. *We* should say, *an honorable peace*. || *ἀναγκάσεται . . . ἢ πολεμήσεται* = *or at all events will*, &c. Hand says: In *ἡ—ἡ* (as in *aut—aut*), the two members are *equal*; with a single *ἡ*, *unequal* (the *ἡ* = *aut etiam*); and there is generally a *descensus a maiore ad minus*.

(P. Cf. Pr. Intr. ii. 349. || ἐξ ἴσου, *on equal terms*: since you, as well as 30). he, will have a standing army, well paid, and from funds of which the expenditure is properly controlled.

§ 8. [§ 48, p. 101.]

- 8 πραγματείας, sc. πολλῆς, implied by the πολλῶν. || καὶ μάλα ὀρθῶς, i. e. ὀρθῶς καὶ μάλα ὀρθῶς, *quite correctly*. Gr. 1476, p. § 759, l. || εὐρήσει λυσιτελοῦν (particp. agreeing with the clause τὸ ἐκόντας ποιεῖν τὰ δέοντα). Gr. 1100 (843) § 684, ii. || τηλικούτου πράγμ., dpt on ἐγγυητής understood. || πρόησθε (rather than προσθε), according to Götting.
- c τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῇ πόλει are the noble deeds it had done, and both the glory and power which it had thereby earned, and still, as it were, possessed. So de Cor. § 40, A. (my ed.): πρὸς τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αἰεὶ δεῖ πειρᾶσθαι τὰ λοιπὰ πράττειν. || εἰρηκέναι, *to have spoken*, i. e. to have advised in a speech delivered by me. || οὐ μὴν ἄλλ'. Gr. 1444 (1053, a) § 774, 6. || ποῖ ἀναδυόμεθα; *quo subterfugimus?* = *quid tergiversamur?*
- D ὅταν, κ.τ.λ. So Phil. i. § 10 [p. 3; B]: ἐπειδὴν νῆ Δι' ἀνάγκη ᾗ. || ἦν . . . ἀνάγκην εἰποι, *what any free-born man would call a necessity*. || ἀπειχέσθαι . . . μὴ γενέσθαι. Gr. 1179 (885) § 749, l.—δήπου, *opinion*. || ἔ μῆτε γένοιτ' οὔτε . . . ἔξιν (sc. ἔστι). There is a similar connexion of an indicative clause with a wish below, in § 12, B (§ 68): ἐγὼ δὲ θρασὺς . . . οὐτ' ἐμὶ μῆτε γένοίμην.

§ 9. [§ 52, p. 102.]

- 9 εἰπὼν ἂν ἤδειας, καὶ δείξας, sc. ἂν = *though I should like to relate and show you*, &c. || ἐμπέσῃ, *happens to be mentioned* = λόγος ἐμπέσῃ περὶ τινος τῶν πρ. Φ.

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- A ἀναβάλλουσι refers to the collective τίς. || ἡσυχίαν . . . πράττειν. So ἀμελεῖν ἑξουσία, Phil. ii. p. 7, D, and in this oration, ἀδεία λέγειν, below, § 11, c, *extr.* Gr. 1042 (809). || ἡ σχολή = *your leisure*; *this leisure of yours*: the freedom from service, &c., that you like, and purchase at any price. || δέδοιχ' ὅπως μὴ ποθ' ἡγήσεσθε. Gr. 1380, d (995, d) § 814, 4, b (where it is improperly confined to Attic poetry). || ἐπὶ πολλῷ γεγενῆσθαι, *to have cost you dear*. || αἱ χάριτες, sc. αἱ παρὰ Φιλίππου. || τούτων, objective, sc. τοῦ ἀναβάλλειν ὑμᾶς, κ.τ.λ. || δεῖν, *one must*. || τὰ γ' ἂφ' ὑμῶν . . . ὑπάρχειν, sc. οἶμαι.
- B νομίζων, sc. δεῖν. || καὶ τὸ . . . κωλύειν = καὶ δεῖν κωλύειν τὸ διαπρασθῆσθαι τῷ εἰπεῖν φυλακὴν. In 10, 56 the same words occur, except that the plainer term εὐρεῖν is there used for εἰπεῖν. Εἰπεῖν φυλακὴν must be understood of the proposing measures of precaution. *Wat.* || ἀγανακτῶ . . . εἰ (nearly = ὅτι): hence οὐ (not μὴ) λυπεῖ. Gr. 1303, 7 (949, c) § 804, 7. || ἐφεξῆς, with reference to the several states of which Greece consisted, = *one after another*; *each in its turn*. || ἐφ' ὑμᾶς. Athens being the real object against which his final efforts would be made; for which final attack his present marauding expeditions were preparatory.

§ 10. [§ 56, p. 103.]

τὸ αἴτιον . . . τὸ . . . εἰπεῖν, as Phil. iii. § 14 (§ 63): τί οὖν ποτ' (P. αἴτιον τὸ καὶ Ὀλυνθίους . . . ἥδιον πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου λέγον- 31) τας ἔχουσιν. Pl. Lach. 190, E: ἀλλ' ἴσως ἐγὼ αἴτιος, οὐ σαφῶς εἰπὼν, 10 τὸ σὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι μὴ τοῦτο διανοούμενος ἡρόμην. Wst. || μηδένα c τούτων, of those who were playing into Philip's hands (§ 9).—ταῦτα, the points attacked by Philip. || αἰτιάσθαι, sc. αὐτούς, to be borrowed from μηδένα τούτων. || δύναται, this is the meaning of (their saying, &c.). || ἡ διαδικασία (disceptatio), the struggle to anticipate the others, and to bring them to account, instead of being brought to account themselves. "Διαδικασία proprie eam causam significat, in qua duo eandem rem, v. c. hereditatem, tentantes aut idem onus, v. c. λειτουργίαν, recusantes mutuo et certatim jus persequuntur, ac quæritur, utri magis competat." V.

οὐ γράψαντος, without any one's having proposed. || μὴ προσ- ποιέσθαι, to pretend not—. Gr. 1172 (878) § 738, obs. 3. || εἰ τοῦτ' ἐξελέγχοι, if he were to convince us of our error; were to force us, by his conduct, to acknowledge that we were at war with him, and must adopt active measures against him. || οὐ . . . οὐδ', sc. φήσιν. || Ὀρεά- ταις. "See 3 Orat. c. Phil. p. 36 (top)." J. || Φεραίους, Ol. ^{108, 4}/_{109, 1}, B. C. 344. || Ὀλυνθίοις, Ol. 107, 4, B. C. 349.

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οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰσών. The others fought for their independence, A but Athens for her very existence, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰσάχτων. See above, n. on p. 122, B.

§ 11. [§ 61, p. 104.]

ὥς . . . οὕτω γινώσκειν. Cf. Gr. 1144 (867) § 702. 11
ἀποτυμπανίσαι (to cudgel to death): οὐχ ἀπλῶς τὸ ἀποκτείνειν B
ἀλλὰ τυμπάνῃ ἢ ἀπὸ τυμπάνου, ὃ ἐστὶ ξύλον ὅπερ σκυτάλην καλοῦσι, τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν ξύλοις ἀνήρουν τοὺς πολεμίους, ὕστερον δὲ τῷ ξίφει. Ek. Magn. No one would have ventured to use such severe language as is used here and in many other places by Demosthenes, against a class of his fellow-citizens, unless there was very strong evidence of their corruption, and he was conscious of carrying along with him the convictions of the majority of his hearers. C. || πόθεν, whence? on what ground? why? || οὐδὲν . . . τοῦτο. The speaker adds this, apparently, to justify the peculiar use of ὑβρίζειν, c. acc. (= to maltreat, insult, trample on a man). Cf. Luc. Solœc. 10: ὅτι τὸ μὲν σὲ ὑβρίζειν τὸ σῶμά ἐστι τὸ σὸν, ἥτοι πληγαῖς ἢ δεσμοῖς ἢ καὶ ἄλλῃ τρόπῳ, τὸ δὲ εἰς σέ, ὅταν εἰς τι τῶν σῶν γίγνηται ἢ ὑβρις. || εἰ μὴδὲν ἄλλο, if nothing else; at least. It is true the condition of the others was not really much better, yet at least Philip for the present disguised it to them, and really granted them this or that advantage (ὥστε καρπωσάμενοι, κ.τ.λ. just below, c). || οἷον Θετταλοῦς, κ.τ.λ. "In the 4th year of the 105th Olympiad, the nobles of Thessaly applied to Philip for protection against the three

(P. brothers of Thebe, who, after the assassination of Alexander of Pherræ 32). (Ol. 105, 2), had seized on the government. By the overthrow of these tyrants, Philip acquired immense influence in Thessaly, the resources of which country were placed entirely at his disposal (Diodor. 16, 14). The Phocian war rekindled the hopes of the ejected tyrants. Lycophron, supported by Onomarchus, commander-in-chief of the Phocians, entered Thessaly, but was defeated by Philip and compelled to retrace his steps. Onomarchus was more fortunate, being several times victorious. The war having been renewed, Philip, who had been nominated leader of the Thessalians, defeated the enemy, and took the cities of Pherræ, Pagasæ, and Magnesia; for the benefit, as he pretended, of his allies, but in all probability solely with a view to his own interest." *J.* || *ῥα*. An extension of acc. cognatæ sign. Cf. *πόσα ἐξῆπαρῆσθε* just below. || *Ποτίδαιαν*. "When Philip was besieging Amphipolis (Ol. 105, 3), the Olynthians sent ambassadors to Athens to propose an alliance with that state: but this plan was frustrated by Philip, who wrote to the Athenians, informing them that his object in besieging Amphipolis was to obtain the city for his good friends the Athenians (Or. c. Aristocr. p. 116). He not only, however, retained possession of the town, but even seized on Potidæa, and only surrendered Amphipolis (in fulfilment of his engagement) on condition of Pydna being placed at his disposal. This secret treaty was negotiated with Antiphon and Charidæmus, who were sent as ambassadors to Philip. Potidæa, a Corinthian colony, several times fell into the hands of the Athenians: on the last occasion it was taken by Timotheus (Ol. 104, 1. Diodor. 15, 81). A few years later it was restored by Philip to the Olynthians, of whom it had been a dependency at an earlier period." *J.* || *πόλλ' ἔτρεπε*, sc. *δοῦν*. Cf. § 5, init. *Wst.* || *ὑπάγει*, he is bringing under his influence; is deceiving. *C.* || *Βοιωτίαν*, that is, the country around Thebes: the controul of the towns and villages of Bœotia, which, properly, were independent of Thebes. *C.* || *ἀπαλλάξας πολέμους*. "Several of the Bœotian cities (Coronæa, Orchomenus, and Corsiæ), which had joined the Phocians at the commencement of the Sacred war, were delivered up to Thebes by Philip, or, as Demosthenes expresses it (Or. de F. Leg. 14), abandoned to slavery, when the war was at an end. The inhabitants of Orchomenus were permitted by the conqueror to seek an asylum at Athens; but this act of clemency was vehemently condemned by the Thebans and Thessalians." *J.* || *πολέμους*, that is, the Phocian war, to which the Thebans were one of the principal parties. See note on De Coron. § 18 [§ 9, c, my ed.].

c. *τινα . . . πλεονεξίαν, some unjust advantage.* || *ἔταν*, lit. *when at some time or other it happens* = *at his own time, or when their time comes.* || *ἐν αὐτῷ . . . ποιήσασθαι*, that is, the peace which they made with Philip at the close of the Amphipolitan war, Ol. 108, 2, B.C. 346. See the chronological table. *C.* || *πόσα*. Cf. *ῥα ἐξῆπαρῆσθε* just above. || *Πύλας*. He passed Thermopylæ during the negotiations for the peace, and thus secured the conquest of the Phocians (see De Coron. § 33 [§ 13, D] sqq.). These acc. depend upon *ἔχει*, below. *C.*

|| τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης, *places on the skirts of Thrace* (Grote); *the coast of (P. Thrace)*. These he took during the negotiations concerning the peace. 32). See De Coron. § 69 [§ 25, D]. C. || Δορίσκον, Σέρριον. "The cities of Doriscus and Serrion were taken by Philip, whilst the Athenian embassy was waiting for him at Pella, for the purpose of receiving his oath, and when the Athenians considered the peace as already concluded." J. || Κερσοβλέπτην. The Thracian prince Kersobleptēs, who was allied with Athens, was suddenly attacked by Philip, and deprived of a considerable part of his dominions, whilst the negotiations about the peace were going on, and after the Athenians had already sworn to observe it. *Wst.* || ὁμολογᾷ, sc. ἔχειν. || ἡμῖν, dpt on προσφέρται. || εἰς . . . λέγειν. Cf. n. on ἡσυχίαν πρᾶττεν, § 9 (init.), p. 126.

οὐκ ἦν. Gr. 790 (632) § 858, 3. The omission of the ἄν represents it more vividly as an objective fact, though it is really a conditional statement. || τὰ Φιλίππου, *the affairs or interests of Philip*. C. || μὴ συν. . . καρποῦσθαι, *unless the great body of the Olynthians had been benefited in common (σύν) by enjoying Potidæa*. Μῆ is used instead of οὐ here, because the partic., when resolved, makes a conditional sentence (*unless they had, or if they had not*). C. || μηδὲν εὖ πεπονθότες, the partic. to be resolved conditionally: hence μηδὲν. || τῷ τοῦς . . . Φιλίππου, *by Philip's having expelled the tyrants for them, i. e. the tyrants of Phæræ*. C. || τὴν Πυλαίαν, the Amphictyonic meeting; properly that at *Pylæ* (Thermopylæ), but extended to that at Delphi. || ἐπιτείχισμα. See n. on § 6, p. 123, c. || παριόντες. "Propius ad Byzantium accedere, scilicet, ut occupet." R. We must understand the assertion of the preparatory steps; the opening of the direct attack did not take place till the next year. *Wst.* He was then on his expedition to Thrace, and in the vicinity of Byzantium. C.

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τούτων. "His bonis, quibus modo dixit civitatis divitias effici." A. F. || πλούσιοι. Cf. Ol. 3, 29: ὧν οἱ μὲν ἐκ πτωχῶν πλούσιοι γεγόνασιν, κ.τ.λ. We find in all these speeches complaints of the traitors in every part of Greece, to whom, according to Demosthenes, Philip was indebted for his successes." J. || πιστῶν, εὐνοίαν, *which the state meets with from others (its allies)*. *Wst.* || τῶν ἄνθρωπων ἀφθονίᾳ. "Vilitatem annonæ et copiam intelligo, quæ populo gratior est quam decus et laus." *Wolf.* Athens, as might be supposed from its position, was a great emporium for trade. See Böckh's Pub. Econ. Ath., bk. i. ch. 9. C. || ὧν προσήκει = τῇ παρασκευῇ τούτων ἃ προσήκει παρασκευάζειν. Cf. 10, 49.

οὐ δύνανται . . . ἡσυχίαν, *that is, not to be merely passive*. They *are* actually assailed the character of their enemies, as, for instance, that of Demosthenes, in what follows. C.

§ 12. [§ 68, p. 106.]

εἰτα, *then, accordingly*; i. e. when they could no longer keep quiet. 12 C. || ἀπελθόν, *that is, to speak in the assembly*. || οὐ γάρ. The γάρ refers to a suppressed thought, in which the speaker main-

(P. tained his right. || *κινδυνεύειν*. Since he who brought forward a
33) proposal in the assembly was personally responsible for it. || *οὐτ' ἐμὶ μήτε γινώμην*, *I am not, and may I never be*. See above, on § 8, d. Observe the use of the optative in expressing a wish, and the change of negative which it requires. C. || *κρίνει, δημεύει, κ.τ.λ.* In the real order, *κατηγορεῖν* would be the first; but see § 6, c, and again, § 12, v, *κατηγορεῖν καὶ χαρίζεσθαι καὶ δημεύειν*, where *χαρίζεσθαι* = *διδόναι* here. The giving away of the confiscated property should follow *δημεύειν*. *Wst.* These words are thrown together without any regard to their natural order, to express the varied and hurtful employment which the advocates of the cause of Philip pursued at Athens, in *trying, confiscating, bribing, &c.*, those engaged in public affairs. C.

c || *πολλὰ . . . ἐναντιοῦνται* = *πολλὰ ἐναντιώματα ἐναντιοῦνται*. *Wst.* || *ἐν ᾗ . . . λογισμοί*, in which fortune has the controul of more things than calculation; that is, a bold decided policy, involving war if the case demanded it, and hence giving scope for innumerable casualties. C. || *ἡ τύχη*, not blind chance, but the *Fortuna* (quæ) *fortes adjuvat*, as a general rule, though she is notoriously inconstant. Dem. declares for the policy which, in a great crisis, knows it must risk something upon the fortune of war. || *καὶ χρήσιμος πολίτης, and a good citizen*. The opp. is *ἄχρηστος* (*inutilis*): *οὐ γὰρ ἀχρήστους αὐτοὺς εὐρήσετε πολίτας*. Is. 7, 37. || *τῆς παρ' . . . χάριτος*, gen. of price after *ἀπολωλικοίτες* (*having ruined; bartered away*). C. || *ποσούτου δέω ζηλῶν*, *I am so far from envying*. Gr. 1071 (822, a) § 676, 2, a.

d || *σὺ δέ*. Gr. 1458, t, § 479, 5. || *ἡμῖν*, dat. *ethicus*. Gr. 923 (728) § 602. || *χορηγίας*. "The patriotic use which Demosthenes made of his property is again alluded to in the Orat. de F. Leg. and in De Corona, § 47, c, d. The most detailed account of the manner in which he voluntarily spent a great portion of his fortune in embellishing the public festivals, and fitting out ships of war, is given in the Orat. c. Mid. § 154, sqq." J. || *φιλανθρωπίας, humanitatis officia*, Sch. Thus, generally, the plur. of abstracts expresses instances, conditions, &c., of the quality. C. || *δυνάμενος ἂν*, though *I should be able* (if it were necessary). || *ἐφ' . . . ἐμαυτὸν ἔταξα*, *did I place myself at? did I devote myself to?* See De Coron. § 62 [§ 24, c]: *ὁ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἑαυτὸν τάξας τῆς πολιτείας εἰμὶ ἐγώ*. C. || *προήχθην*. Understand *τάττειν ἐμαυτόν*. C. || *πολλῶν*, those who were careful to please the people in what they said and proposed. C. || *μέλους*, sc. *ἡ νῦν ἔσται*.

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a || *ἐξ ὧν*, by means of which. || *ἐγὼ μὲν*, that is, *I*, the proposer. He introduces himself as an example, merely to illustrate the case. C. || *τῶν ἄλλων ὑστατοι*, the last; or after all the rest. On this pleonastic use of *ἄλλος* cf. Gr. 1516, 25, b (777) § 502, 3. So in Latin: *ii ocellorum Britannorum fugacissimi*. Tac. Agric. 34. In English, also: *fairest of her daughters Eve*. Milton. C. || *βαδίζειται*, *will go; will be sure*

to go; always goes. What is called the aoristic use of the fut. C. Cf. (P. 18, 205: ὁ μὲν τοῖς γονεῦσι μόνον γεγενῆσθαι νομίζων τὸν τῆς 34). εἰμαρμένης καὶ τὸν αὐτόματον θάνατον περιμένει, ὁ δὲ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ταύτην ἐπιδεῖν δουλεύουσας ἀποθνήσκειν ἰθὺς ἐλθέσει καὶ φοβερωτέρας ἡγήσεται τὰς ὕβρεις . . . τοῦ θανάτου. Cf. Mätzner ad Antiph. 3, 3, 4. F.

§ 13. [§ 73, p. 108.]

λέγω . . . καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρύφομαι. Cf. ἱρῶ . . . καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρύ- 13
φομαι, Phil. ii. p. 7, c. || τοῦ συμβουλευόντος, possessive gen., dpt as
on εἶναι. || Θηβαῖος. "In the third year of the 106th Olympiad,
the inhabitants of Euboea, among whom a civil war had broken out,
applied for assistance, the one party to the Athenians, the other to the
Thebans. Many skirmishes and insignificant engagements took
place, in which the Athenians and Thebans were alternately success-
ful, but no decisive battle was fought. At length the two parties,
after losing several men on both sides, concluded a peace with one
another: and the Boeotians returned to their own country (Diodor.
xvi. 7). The privilege of an independent government (autonomy)
was granted to the cities of Euboea by the Athenians. See Böckh's
Ec. of Athens, 2nd part." J. || λέγων, in speaking. C. In the course
of his speech. Wst. || εἰρή. Cf. Gr. 651 (535, d) § 390, 2, a. || ἔφη.
Not unfrequently repeated thus after εἰρή, in earnest appeals. See
Xen. Mem. i. 4, 2, et passim. C. || χρήσασθε, sc. αὐτοῖς.

ὡς οἶόν τε, sc. εἰπεῖν. || ὥσπερ εἶπεν, as he really did. || περί, c
absolutè, with respect to, as Ol. 1, § 11 [p. 4, B], καὶ περὶ τῶν πραγμά-
των, κ.τ.λ. || τὰ δὲ . . . λέγειν = τὸ δὲ τὰ βέλτεστα ἐπιστήμῃ (=
ὡς or ἂ ἐπιστάται) λέγειν. Wst.

§ 14. [§ 76, p. 108.]

τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν δύναμιν = τὸ συνιστηδὸς στράτευμα above, 14
n. on § 3, c. || ἐπανορθούντας . . . καταλύοντας, agree with the
subject of συνέχειν (correcting; not destroying). C. || ὅσοις, "ob ea,
quaeque sunt, quae quis incuset." F.

τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασι, those who take a prominent part in public
affairs; public men. || δωροδοκούντας, if they receive bribes; allow them-
selves to be bribed. || πανταχοῦ, not only at Athens. Philip had his
creatures every where. Wst. || ἑαυτοῖς, because unattended with
danger from the traitors. C. || τοῖς πράγμασι χρήσασθε, you apply
yourselves (vigorously) to your affairs. In Ol. 1 (prop. init.) πράγμασι
χρησθαι = to avail oneself of circumstances. || γένοιτο, sc. τὰ πράγ-
ματα. || ἔχρι τοῦ, κ.τ.λ., showing your hearty zeal so far as appliances
and praise goes, but no further.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

THIRD PHILIPPIC.

- ^A THE same year in which Demosthenes spoke on the affairs of the Chersonese (Ol. 109, 3¹), and probably a few months after the delivery of that Oration, he again came forward to address his fellow-citizens on the necessity of a war with the king of Macedonia. Philip was still actively engaged in Thrace, and approaching, by a succession of easy conquests, to the shores of the Propontis and the walls of Byzantium, where he had for a long time been endeavouring to secure an entrance by the means which he usually employed for the attainment of such objects. About the same time he chastised the Peparéthians (who had taken forcible possession of Halonéus), threatened the Chersonese, and extended his influence on every side. The immediate occasion of the assembly, at which this Oration was delivered, is not known. From the speech itself we merely gather, that its object was to persuade the people to protect the Hellespont, anticipate the designs of Philip on Byzantium, check his ambitious career, and vindicate the claims of Athens to the name which had been won for her by the labour and the blood of former generations². The anxiety of the orator was occasioned not so much by any apprehensions of Philip's growing power, as by distrust of his own countrymen. The carelessness exhibited by the Athenians on the very brink of danger excites in his mind a generous indignation, which pervades the whole of his speech. At the very commencement he assails these unprincipled flatterers who had lured the people to destruction by their misrepresentations, and banished freedom of deliberation from the public assemblies. After describing the dangers to which the Athenians are exposed on every side, he goes on to reassure his hearers, by speaking of the happy results which would be almost
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¹ Under the same Archon (Sosisgenes) Demosthenes delivered his tenth (Philippic) Oration, in which he endeavours to prove that Philip has been the first to violate the conditions of peace, and commence the war. Dionysius, Epist. ad Amm. p. 758.

² Winiewski, Comm. Hist. p. 176, thinks it probable that the occasion of this speech was the arrival of letters, or an embassy, from the inhabitants of the Chersonese, entreating pecuniary or other assistance.

sure to follow a change of policy. He censures the criminal supineness of those who, for the sake of enjoying a little longer the imaginary blessings of an insecure peace, are content to await in drowsy inactivity the bursting of a storm which will overwhelm them with destruction, and proves that the people have no longer any choice between war and peace. It would be absolute folly any longer to judge of the king's intentions by his words, rather than his actions, now that so many terrible examples have taught them that his practice has ever been to soothe his victims with fair promises until he is prepared to strike. And this cautious, this treacherous policy, he is now pursuing towards Athens. Since the peace every act of his has been perfidious and malevolent, a step towards his grand object, the destruction of Greece: and yet, although actually engaged in preparations for the attack, he has had the audacity to disavow his hostile intentions. Under such circumstances, not a moment is to be lost: there is scarcely time even for deliberation, when immediate action is required. To stimulate their flagging resolution, he contrasts the unhappy facility with which every thing is now conceded to Philip, with the lofty patriotism of those who, in former days, knew how to restrain within due bounds the ambition of their powerful neighbours. And yet the aggressions which they attempted were insignificant, compared with the insolent incroachments of a Macedonian, a foreigner, who dares to ill-treat the inhabitants of Greece, and wrest from them their dearest privileges. The causes of this unhappy policy may be found in the indifference with which Athenians now regard even the most flagrant offences, and the covetousness which at once finds an excuse for its own acts of dishonesty, and encourages in others a system of the most shameful robbery and corruption. With such sentiments as these he contrasts the sturdy opinions of the olden time, when bribery was punished with the most inexorable severity. This must be again the feeling of every Athenian citizen, if we would inspire other states with respect for our institutions, or even hope to enjoy the fruits of our own exertions. Another cause of this culpable indifference is the mistaken notion, encouraged by some of our orators, that Philip after all is not so formidable an enemy as some would represent him; since much more terrific wars, with Lacedæmon and other Grecian powers, have terminated favorably for Athens. In reply to this argument, Demosthenes shows, that the art of war has undergone a total change since those days, and that Philip, in consequence of his position, enjoys many advantages, which it would be well for us to mark, and adopt such measures as may be most effectual for neutralizing them. But the best and surest mode of defence is to resist the attempts of those within the walls, who have been bribed by Macedonian gold, to betray the interests of their country; and instead of foolishly delighting in their calumnies, to aid your honest fellow-citizens in their praiseworthy struggles for freedom of debate. When we remember the fate of those nations which had already submitted to Macedonia, we cannot wonder at our orator's frequent recurrence to the story of their fall. He is holding up to his fellow-citizens the

A mirror of history. Examples were close at hand of states which had lost their freedom, because their citizens had listened to the words of the flatterer, who promised them ease and tranquillity, rather than to the voice of duty, of honest admonition, and of severe but wholesome censure. But prosperity and ease are the reward of action, not the fruits of idle day-dreams. He who deems mischance impossible, is already on the brink of destruction; and the man who, for the sake of avoiding an evil, shuns the performance of his duty, will repent him of his supineness when repentance can no longer avail. The speech concludes with a proposal, that reinforcements should be sent out to the Chersonese, preparations set on foot for a general armament, and application for assistance made to the king of Persia and to the other states of Greece.

B The immediate results of this speech are not known. But when, in the following year, some of the orator's predictions were fulfilled, in the siege of Perinthus and Byzantium by Philip (Ol. 110, 1), Athens exhibited such activity as completely frustrated his attempts. About the same time, and before the investment of Byzantium by Philip's army², troops were sent a second time from Athens to Euboea, under the command of Phocion, who expelled the Macedonian garrisons, deposed the tyrants protected by Philip, and re-established the influence of Athens in the island⁴. During this period we find the king of Persia also among the enemies of Macedonia. Considering all these circumstances, it is highly probable that the efforts made by Athens for the attainment of these objects were the result of our orator's eloquence, and the fruits of his *Oratio de Cherson.*, and the present *Philippic*.

² Or. pro Coróná.

⁴ Diodor. 16, 74.

NOTES

TO THE

THIRD PHILIPPIC.

PAGE 35, § 1. [§ 1, p. 110.]

ἀλλ' οὐκ οὖν δαίν. Gr. 1520, 6 (684) § 864. || τὴν εἰρήνην, the peace (P. of Ol. 108, 2, about which see the Introd. to the Speech on the Peace. 35). || φησάντων . . . ἂν. Gr. 1155, α (653, α) § 429, 3: the conditional 1 clause (if they were formally asked, or the like) omitted. || εἰ καὶ μὴ α ποιῶσι τοῦτο, even though they do not do so, i.e. do not say it. Πουῖν, like our to do, is used as the representative of a preceding verb. Thus 21, 207: εἰ δ' ἀπορεῖς ἐκείνως με κακῶς ποιῆσαι, εἴη ἂν καὶ τοῦτο σημεῖον τῆς ἐμῆς ἐπιμελείας, εἰ τοὺς ἄλλους ῥαδίως κρίνων ἐμὴ μηδὲν ἔχεις ἐφ' ὧν τοῦτο ποιήσεις. Ws. || ὅπως . . . παύσεται. Gr. 1313 (954) § 811. || εἰς τοῦθ' ὑπηγγμένα, κ.τ.λ., "eo sensum et per concordiam vocatam tenisse" (have been gradually brought, &c.). 23, 173: συμβαίνει τοῖς χρόνοις εἰς τοῦθ' ὑπηγγμένα τὰ πράγματα ἤδη . . . ὅσ' ἰσχυροῦμεν. F. || εἰπαί, to say (what follows, εἰ καὶ, κ.τ.λ.). || εἰ καὶ λέγων, κ.τ.λ. The καὶ does not belong to the εἰ, but is a corresponsive particle to the following καὶ. Observe the *asyndeton*: λέγειν ἅπαντες . . . χειροτονεῖν ὑμεῖς. || οἱ παρόντες = those who come forward to speak; the orators. || ἔμελλε = were likely; would be sure to.

παρ' ἐν οὐδὲ δύο, from any one cause, nor yet from two. The παρά properly denotes an equal and parallel extension of the two notions. See my note on Or. de Coroná, p. 166. || ἐν οἷς . . . ταῦτα φυλάττοντες, upholding the present state of things, to which they owe their reputation and influence. || τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ὄντας, "qui in republica gerenda versantur" (v. ad 2, 12), i.e. τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ὄντας (summæ rerum præfectos) s. τοὺς ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν ὄντας, § 11." F. || οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιῶσιν, id agunt, ut civitas de se (de civibus suis, non de Philippo) pœnas sumat. F. || περὶ τοῦτ' ἔσται, i.e. περὶ τοῦτο σπουδάζεται. F. || πολιτεῖαι here = the methods of our statesmen (L.); political measures, πολιτεύματα. Another instance of the plural of an abstract noun, denoting particular instances and manifestations of the abstract notion. So φιλοanthρωπίας, de Reb. Cher. § 12, v; and 25, 86, φιλοanthρωπία καὶ ἐγγάται γίνονται.

ἐπὶ . . . τῶν ἄλλων, in other matters; on other subjects. || καὶ τοῖς c

(P. ξένοις καὶ τοῖς δούλοις. "The Athenians piqued themselves upon 35) being the most independent and most humane of all people. With them a stranger had liberty of speaking as he pleased, provided he let nothing escape him against the government. So far were they from admitting him into their public deliberations, that a citizen was not permitted to touch on state affairs in the presence of an alien. Their slaves enjoyed a proportionable degree of indulgence. The Saturnalia, when they were allowed to assume the character of masters, was originally an Athenian institution, and adopted at Rome by Numa. At Sparta and Thessaly, on the contrary, slaves were treated with such severity, as obliged them frequently to revolt. The humanity of Athens had its reward, for their slaves did them considerable service on several occasions; at Marathon, in the war of Egina, and at Arginusæ." *Tourreil*. || ἐν μὲν ταῖς . . . κινδυνεύειν: we had the very same words in Or. de Chers. p. 28, B.

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- A εἶποιμος. Gr. 633 (516) § 376. || καὶ γὰρ εἰ, here = *nam etiam* si. Gr. 1476, t (1053, h) § 786, obs. || εἶστιν = *it is possible*. || τὸ χεῖριστον, κ.τ.λ. "Compare the opening of the 1st Phil. (§ 2), where the orator employs the same phrase." J.
B νῦν δέ. Gr. 1485, a (1053, m) § 719, 2.

§ 2. [§ 8, p. 112.]

- 2 ἐφ' ἡμῖν. Gr. 1424, 4 (1031, 4) § 634, b. || τὸν ταῦτα λέγοντα. Ταῦτα, the assertions just made, i. e. that the city may have peace, and that it depends upon ourselves whether we will have it or not. || πρᾶττειν = *to act with vigour* (id agere, &c.). || φενακίζειν, *decipere*. See n. on Or. de Cor. § 17, D. || ἕτερος, *another*. He puts the case generally.
C προβάλλει, "*projicit s. protendit*, quo vos securos consopiat, contra προβάλλεται protendit, quo se adversus vos tueatur (cf. 4, 40)." F. || οὐ διαφέρωμαι (non repugno), *I have nothing to say against it*. "The meaning is, Philip pretends to be at peace, when in reality he is making war on us. We must resist him. But if you desire still to retain a nominal peace, you are at liberty to do as he has done; i. e. to pretend to be at peace, but in reality to wage war." J. || ταύτην εἰρήνην ὑπολαμβάνει. Gr. 716 (562) § 453, b. || ἐξ ἧς, *from which*, i. e. as its result. || ἔπειτα. Gr. 1467. § 766, 1. *And, secondly, the peace which he talks about is a peace observed towards him by you, but not towards you by him* [lit. *is a peace to him from you*, &c.]. || τὴν εἰρήνην, sc. οὖσαν, i. e. ἡ εἰρήνη, ἣν λέγει, ἐκείνῳ παρ' ὑμῶν ἐστίν, οὐχ ὑμῖν παρ' ἐκείνου. F. || τῶν ἀναλισκομ. χρημ., gen. pretii. || αὐτὸς . . . πολεμεῖν = τὸ αὐτὸς πολεμεῖν, κ.τ.λ., *exegetical* inf. defining τοῦτο. Gr. 1051 (812) § 669, β, γ.

§ 3. [§ 10, p. 113.]

- 3 καὶ μὲν. Gr. 1482 (1053, D) § 728, e.
D τετταράκοντ' ἀπέχων . . . στάδια, i. e. he said it *then*, but *not till then*. || δυοῖν θάταρον. Gr. 829 (669) § 579, 4. So 19, 176:

εἶτα τῶν ἄλλων πρέσβειν ἕκαστον καλῶ καὶ δυοῖν θάτερον ἢ (P. μαρτυρεῖν ἢ ἐξομνῆσθαι ἀναγκάσω. F. || πάντα τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον 36). (opposed *anagadically* from the spirited abruptness of the narration to the ἀπείχων) = *at any other time*; i. e. *but at any time before that*. So Or. in Lept. § 16: παρὰ δ' ὑμῖν ἀδείως ἂν λάβῃ τις ἔχειν ὑπὲρ χει, τὸν γοῦν ἄλλον χρόνον. Ws. || ἀγανακτῶν agrees with the subj. of εἶπεν: *he who used to be indignant and would send*, &c., they must be considered as the participles of the imperfect (of an *habitual* action), and εἰ . . . αἰτιάσαιτο opt. of *indefinite frequency*. || τοὺς ἀπολογησομένους, *to clear him from the charge*. Gr. 1128 (859). || ἤριζον, *contended, insisted*. || οὐ λυσitelήσειν, *would not profit* = *would be an injury to*. The οὐ belongs to λυσitelήσειν, so as to convert its signification to the opposite. Gr. 1171. § 738, obs. 3. "When the intelligence reached Athens that Philip had advanced as far as the passes of Thermopylæ, it was boldly asserted by Æschines that the sole object of this movement was the abasement of Thebes, and the restoration of their independence to the cities of Thespias and Platææ. The people persisted in cherishing this delusive hope, notwithstanding the warnings of Demosthenes." J.

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ὡς νοσοῦσι. "Philip had used the expression ὅτι νοσοῦσι (which ^A is applied to moral as well as physical disease) with reference especially to those states in which civil discord prevailed: and Demosthenes, as it appears to me, completes the metaphor for him by the addition of ἐπισκεψομένους (*to visit them as a physician visits his patients*). The additional words, καὶ στασιάζουσιν seem intended for an explanation of νοσοῦσι. After his successful campaign in Illyria, Philip marched against the tyrants of Thessaly (who, according to Diodor. 16, 69, had again raised their heads), and stormed the fortress of Pheræ, their principal stronghold. For an account of *Oreos*, see n. p. 123, c. Orat. de Rebus Cherson." J. || εἶτα. Gr. 1358 (980) § 874, 6. || καὶ . . . ταῦτα, *and that too*. || ἕως, here, *as long as*; below, *until*. On ἕως ἂν c. subj. cf. Gr. 1263 (931) § 843, 3. || οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα: *non ita est: not so*. || τῶν ἀδικουμένων ὑμῶν, *whilst you the injured party*. Ἐκείνος is expressed to sharpen the antithesis to ὑμῶν.

ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, dpt on τινας. || τοὺς λόγους, "*ea verba, quibus vos* ^B *remorantur*, i. e. *facultatem ea dicendi*." F. || ἀφείλοντο, *should put a stop to*, lit. *should deprive them* (of the power of using these arguments, by conduct that would so palpably give them the lie).

§ 4. [§ 15, p. 14.]

ὦ πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς ὦ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, *pro deum fidem*, 21, 98. F. ⁴ || μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων. Gr. 1436. § 650. || δήπου. Gr. 1461 (1053, d) § 724, 2. || σέβει. Gr. 1493, f. § 776, 2. - Δορίσκειν. "See n. p. 125, D, to Orat. de R. Cherson. The assertion of our orator, that 'Philip had already taken an oath to observe the peace,' is not exactly in accordance with the truth. The Thracian campaign was ended, and Philip was already on his march to Phocis,

- (P. when he took the oath at Pheræ. (Or. de Fals. Leg.) The Athenian 37). general mentioned here was Chares, to whom Kersobleptes had considered the defence of those places. (Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 267.)" *J.* || τοὺς ἐκ Σεβρίων = τοὺς ἐν Σεβρίῳ ἐξ αὐτοῦ. Gr. 1435 (1039) § 647. || ἱεροῦ ὄρους, a hill with a castle upon it, on the Thracian coast, near the point where the Hellespont enters the Propontis (Xen. An. 7, 1, 14). *Wst.* || ταῦτα πράττων τί ἐποίησεν; and when he was acting thus (or effecting these purposes of his), what was he doing? = what was it that he was doing? [are we to call his actions peace or war?] || τί δὲ ταῦτ' ἐστίν; This is a supposed objection to the speaker's assertion: what of that? what does that signify? With the sing. cf. Phil. i. p. 3, B: τί χρηρὰ τὰ γινόμενα ἡγήσασθαι; || τῇ πόλει. "The loss of such unimportant places would seem hardly worth so much discussion, did we not remember that the question was one, not of political profit or loss, but of right, and therefore entirely independent of the magnitude or insignificance of the objects in dispute." *J.* || εἰ μὲν γὰρ, c.r.l. The εἰ is here a dependent interrogative; for whether, &c.—is another question (with which we have nothing to do here). Cf. 18, 44: εἰ δὲ μὴ ᾤσθάνοντο, ἔτερος λόγος οὗτος, οὐ πρὸς ἐμὴ. *F.* || ἂν τε . . . ἂν τε, sic . . . sic. Gr. 1466 (1049) § 778. || ἐπὶ μικροῦ. Gr. 1424, 4 (1031, 4) § 633. || βασιλεύς. Gr. 673 (543) § 363, obs.
- D οὐ πολεμεῖν, Gr. 1171. § 738, obs. 3, sc. αὐτὸν οὐ πολεμεῖν. || τοσοῦτον δέω. Gr. 1071 (822, a) § 676, 2, a, 3. || Μεγάρων. "The enterprise against Megara is mentioned in the Oratio de R. Cherson. p. 25, D. See also n. p. 141, c, to the present Oration. By the possession of this city the subjugation of Bœotia, and the government of Eubœa by his bribed adherents, Philip would be enabled to surround Athens as it were with a net. Cf. the Oratio de Fals. Leg. p. 446, 1, where, as in the present Oration, the professions of Philip are compared with his acts." *J.* || τυραννίδα, an abstract taken collectively. || ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ. "See introduction to the second Philippic and n. p. 105, D, to the same Oration. The intrigues practised by Philip for the promotion of his interests in the Peloponnesus are alluded to by Demosthenes in the Oratio de Corona, p. 262, 2 [§ 32, c]." *J.* || τοξότην. Cf. Oratio de Coron. p. 251, 1 [§ 32, A].

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- A εἶτα. Gr. 1358 (980) § 874, 6. || μηχανήμα. He uses this term *improprie* to point out the similarity of this case, and that of the man who should have placed his μηχανήματα against a city about to be assaulted (in § 4, D). || ἀφ' ἧς ἡμ., i. e. ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἡμ., ᾧ (Olymp. 108, 2. Scirophor. 23. June 20, B.C. 346). *F.* || ἄρα, at once. || τοῦθ'. It is placed first, because it belongs both to βούλησθε and ποιῆσαι. *F.* || ἀφίστηκα, I dissent from. || δοκεῖ, it seems fit, right, &c. Hence δεῖν is not required.
- B περὶ Χερρόνησου . . . οὐδὲ Βυζαντίου. Gr. 1493, f. § 776, 2. || μὲν . . . μέντοι. Gr. 1479, obs. || τούτοις, i. e. τοῖς Χερρόνησiais καὶ τοῖς Βυζαντίοις. *F.* || ἐξ ὧν, qua de causa. || ὅπου τῶν πραγμάτων, about the state of our affairs. || μετὰσχῃτε τῶν

λογισμῶν, *share them with me, and by implication use them.* || εἰ (P. μὴ . . . ἄρα. F. translates it as if it were εἰ μὴ ἄρα, *nisi forte*: 38). but as following ὑμῶν γ' αὐτῶν I think εἰ μὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλ. is *si non etiam reliquorum*; the ἄρα being *ut videtur, that you may at least take some wise precaution for yourselves, if, as it seems, you do not choose to do so for the other states as well.* || αὐτοῖς, *hereafter; again.*

§ 5. [§ 21, p. 118.]

μῖγας . . . ᾤξεται. The *μῖγας* is *proleptic*. Gr. 643 (523) § 439, 2. 5 πρὸς αὐτοῖς = πρὸς ἀλλήλους. Gr. 1009, 1100 (791) § 664, 2.

|| ἐξ ἐκαίνου, *from the man he was, i.e. from his originally low state.* C || ποιήσασθαι, the aor. inf., because the *final result, the subjection or subject state*, is contemplated, rather than the *act of reducing them* to it, ποιῆσθαι. || συγκαχωρηκότες, *sc. τοῦτο, the antecedent demonstrative to ὑπὲρ οὗ.* || ἂν ὑμῶν ἀρξαμένους, *with you at their head.* Gr. 1121 (852) § 696, obs. || καθ' ἕνα . . . περιεκόπτεται . . . τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Τῶν Ἑλλ. is, by a sort of attraction, the *partitive gen.* after ἕνα, whereas we should rather expect τοὺς Ἑλληνας as *objec.* of the verb. So Phil. i. § 4, D: καθ' ἕκαστον τοῦτων διεκίων = ταῦτα καθ' ἕκαστον διεκίων. || λωποδυντεῖν, like a common highwayman. Cf. Phil. i. 11, A: λωποδύτης δὲ ἀποδύει τῶν παριόντων τὰς ἰσθμῆρας. || ἑβδομ. ἔτη καὶ τρία. "The seventy-three years are here reckoned from the second Persian war (Ol. 75) to the battle of Ægos-Potamos (Ol. 93, 3), where the feebly supported claims of Athens to the hegemony were annihilated by Lacedæmon. See Clinton de Principatu Athen. in the Appendix to his Fast. Hellen. p. 263. In the 3rd Olynthian Orat. Demosthenes speaks of forty-five years, meaning undoubtedly the period during which the Hegemony of Athens was *undisputed*, that is to say, from about Ol. 75, 4 (when the Greeks first sought the protection of Athens from Lacedæmonian tyranny) to the commencement of the Peloponnesian war (Ol. 87, 2)." J.

τριάκοντα ἐνὸς δέοντα [Gr. 871, fin. (684, c) § 529, 1]. "This D period of twenty-nine years seems to be reckoned from the taking of Athens by Lysander (Ol. 93, 4) to the battle off Naxos (Ol. 101, 1), in which Chabrias was victorious. (See Clinton, Appendix vii. ad Fast. Hellen.) Sparta had reached the summit of her political importance in the 100th Olympiad, at which time Xenophon (Hist. Gr. v. 3, 27) writes, 'At that period Lacedæmon was mistress of Thebes and the rest of Boeotia; the Corinthians were devoted to her, the Argives humbled, Athens deserted, the disaffected confederates punished: in a word, her power seemed to be established on a firm basis.' These words are repeated by Diodorus (15, 23), with the addition, 'Lacedæmon was at that time formidable to the whole of Greece on account of her Hegemony. Hence it was that the mightiest sovereigns, such as the king of Persia and Dionysius the tyrant of Syracuse, were anxious to secure the friendship of the Spartans, and conclude alliances with them.' The manner in which Sparta abused this power is well known. 'They made the continent of Greece a wilderness,' says Isocrates (Symmachicus, c. 33), 'ill-treated the inhabitants of the islands, annihilated the free

(P. states of Italy and Sicily, introduced a tyrannical form of government everywhere, laid waste Peloponnesus, and filled it with war and confusion. 38). Have they not deprived the Eleans of a portion of their territory, ravaged the land of the Corinthians, divided Mantineia, stormed Phlius (Ol. 99, 4), attacked Argos, done every thing, in a word, to deserve the severe lesson which they afterwards received at Leuctra? The defeat of the Spartans at Leuctra was the signal for general rejoicing throughout the whole of Peloponnesus; but this was soon succeeded by discord, uproar, and confusion. See Isocrates to Philip. c. 21." J. || *ἰσχυσαν* = *potentiam adepti sunt*. Gr. 743 (597). Cf. "Ἐλληνος δὲ καὶ τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Φθιώτιδι ἰσχυσάντων (*having become powerful*), Th. 1, 3. So ἀρξασι (just below) = *having become the ruling power*. || δ τι βούλοισθε. He used the second person, as immediately addressing the Athenians, though the Lacedaemonians and Thebans are intended to be included. "Secunda autem persona, quum plura subjecta adsint, rite ponitur, quum is, quem alloquimur, nobis primus et proximus sit." B. || οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ. See n. on de Chera. p. 29, B (*extr.*). || πῶν, dpt on προσφίρεσθαι, to treat this or that state without due moderation: a mild way of stating the fact. || ἀρξασι. See note on *ἰσχυσαν*, just above. || *πλεονάζειν*, less common in this sense than *πλεονεκτεῖν*, to manifest a grasping ambition, &c. Cf. 39, 14: καὶ τοὺς πάνν δεινοὺς ἐκάστοτε, ὅταν πλεονάζωσιν, ἐπίστασθ' ὑμῖς κοσμίους ποιεῖν. || τὰ καθ' ἑσθηκότα ἐκίονον, i. e. by putting down free institutions wherever they obtained party, and substituting for them an oligarchical government.

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- A τί δεῖ τοὺς ἄλλους λέγειν; ἀλλ'. "Frequens est apud Demosthenem hæc formula dicendi, quum transitus fit ad graviora. Cf. § 13. Weber, ad 23, 114." F. || ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς αὐτοί, *we ourselves*. || οὐδὲν ἂν . . ἔχοντες. "Resolve: οὐδὲν ἂν εἰχομεν, sc. εἰ καὶ ἡβουλόμεθα." F. || ὑπὲρ ὧν = *ὑπὲρ τούτων ᾧ*. For the facts referred to, cf. de Cor. § 96 [my ed. § 40]. || ἐν τρισὶ καὶ δέκα. "Between the accession of Philip (Ol. 105, 1) and the delivery of this oration eighteen years had elapsed. But the splendid period of his reign did not begin until Ol. 105, 4, when he overthrew the tyrants of Thessaly. In Ol. 106, 1 his name was proclaimed among the conquerors at the Olympic games." J. || οἷς (= ἐν οἷς) ἐπιπολάζει, in which (Philip) has been making a figure (aliquid esse coepit. Sch.). —ἐπιπολάζω, lit. *I come to the surface, rise to the top, &c.*; hence, *I am in the ascendant, &c.* On pres. = *our* perfect with *have*, cf. Gr. 740 (594). || Μεθόνην, i. e. the Thracian Methônê, in Chalcidice (in the siege of which Philip lost one eye). *Ἀπολλονία*, an Ionian colony in Mygdonia: both cities were allies of Olynthus.
- B ἐπὶ Θρ., the Chalcidian cities that were dependent on the Olynthians. || προσελθόντα, sc. τινά. || τὰς πόλεις, *Pagasa and Magnessia*. || τετραρχίας. See note on οἱ θερρακοί, p. 106, and Buttmann in Mythologus 2, p. 290. || κατέστησαν. "Ne post παρῆρται offendet, recte aoristus cum perfecto jungitur, siquidem illas tetra-

chias etiamtum manere necdum abrogatas esse inter omnes con- (P. stabat. Cf. p. 45, c. Mætz. ad Lyc. 5. Weber ad 23, 178. Accedit 39). quod ea forma perfecti, quæ h. l. apta foret (καθίσταται, quam e Dionysio recepit h. l. Reiskius), serioris demum græcitatæ est." F. || κατ' ἑξῆς, because he had now divided them into four districts, and compelled each district to obey him. || δουλεύει. Gr. 1306 (954) § 811. || καὶ ταῦτα, and that too. || εἰς τὰς ἐκ. γράφ. (i. e. writes into =) puts into his letters; or writes in his letters. || καὶ οὐ γράφει μὲν, κ.τ.λ., i. e. οὐ μόνον γράφει ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιῶ. Cf. § 12, v. 15, 6. 18, 179: οὐκ εἰπον μὲν ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔγραψα δὲ, οὐδ' ἔγραψα μὲν, οὐκ ἐπίσβευσα δὲ, οὐδ' ἐπίσβευσα μὲν, οὐκ ἐπίεσα δὲ Θηβαίους. Auct. ad Herenn. 4, 25, 34. "Non sensi hos et non suasi, neque suasi et non ipse statim facere cœpi, neque facere cœpi et non perfeci, neque perfeci et non probavi." F.

Μεγάρους. "The attempt made by Philip, in Ol. 109, 1, to obtain c possession of Megara, has been already noticed in n. p. 138, d. In the Oratio de Leg., which was written in Ol. 109, 2, it is spoken of as an event which had already taken place. This city was also filled with bribed partisans of the king of Macedonia, among whom we find the names of Ptæodorus, Perilaus, and Helæus. (Or. pro Corona, Or. de Fals. Leg.) The expedition against Ambracia happened about the same time. His attempts to obtain possession of this city and Leucas, for the purpose of invading Peloponnesus by sea, (as well as by land on the side of Megara,) were frustrated through the vigilance and activity of Demosthenes. Arcadia, Argos, and Elis were distracted by party-struggles: in the latter city especially the citizens murdered one another for the sake of 'obtaining the ascendancy, and gratifying Philip.' (Or. de Fals. Leg.) The oligarchic faction having gained the upper hand, the democracy was dissolved, and an alliance concluded with Philip on such terms as justified the assertion of Demosthenes, that 'Elis was now in his power.' (Pausan. v. 4, 9.)" J. || χωρεῖ, holds, contains, i. e. is sufficient for. Cf. 21, 200: ἡ πόλις αὐτὸν οὐ χωρεῖ. F. || διοικωμένους κατὰ πόλεις, are confined as if by dykes in our several cities; are cut off one city from another. || οὐδὲ συνστῆναι, no, nor to stand together; or to unite for our defence.

περιωρῶμεν. Gr. 1115 (846) § 687. || ἐγνώκα, κ.τ.λ. having D each of us resolved, as it seems to me, to gain the time during which another is destroyed (i. e. is being destroyed). — ἐγνώκα = decrevi. || ὅπως συνθήσεται. Gr. 1313 (954) § 811. || ὥσπερ περίοδος ἡ καταβολὴ πυρετοῦ, the periodical access or attack of a fever. F. understands it of an epidemic fever, Wst. of an intermittent one. In F.'s way (which seems to suit the purpose of the illustration best) περίοδος is the course of a fever going through or round a district. Wst. explains it: every man, however far he may be removed from Philip, yet knows as certainly that he will be attacked by him in time, as a person who has an intermittent fever knows that, however well he may be to-day, he will be attacked to-morrow by the returning fever. The language seems to favour this way of understanding the passage. || καὶ μῆν, and further; and moreover. || ἀλλ' οὖν ...

(P. γα, yet at all events; yet at least (the same force it would have after a 30). conditional clause with εἰ). The ὅσα is virtually conditional. || γνήσιον . . . τῆς Ἑλλάδος. "Notanda locutio γνήσιοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, i.e. Ἑλληνικὴ ἰθαγενεὶς." Sch. || ὥσπερ ἄν. Gr. 1327 (961, a) § 430, 1. || ἔξιον μέψεως εἶναι . . . ἐνέειναι. "Infinitivi pendent a verbis ὥσπερ ἄν ὑπὸ λαβῇ: 'perinde quis hoc de negotio statuatur, ac si de filio familias . . . statuatur, eum in hoc quidem esse reprehendendum . . . , verumtamen ideo non licere negare cett.'" *Rek.*

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A ἄλλ' οὐχ . . . οὐχ οὕτως ἔχουσιν, are not affected in the same way; do not feel the same indignation. The negative is emphatically repeated, as in 45, 56: ἄλλ' οὐχ οὐτοσι Στέφανος, οὐκ ὥσπερ, κ.τ.λ. *Æsch.* 3, 194: ἄλλ' οὐχ ἰὸ Κίραλος, ὁ παλαιὸς ἐκείνος, ὁ δοκῶν δημοτικῶτατος γεγονέναι, οὐχ οὕτως. *F.* || οὐδὲ βαρβάρου ἐντεῦθεν εἶναι, κ.τ.λ. = οὐδὲν βαρβάρου ἐντεῦθεν ὄντος εἶναι (τινὰ) εἰπεῖν εἶναι καλὸν ἐστὶ, nor even a barbarian from a country which it is reputable for a man to state that he comes from; unless we consider εἶναι to be attracted (for οὐ, ubi) to the form of ἐντεῦθεν, and to be virtually = 'which:' from a country which it is reputable to name. || δλιθρον, i.e. δλιθριου, perdit (cf. 18, 127, δλιθρος γραμματεὺς. 23, 202, ἀνθρώπους οὐδ' ἐλευθέρους, ἄλλ' δλιθρους). || Μακεδόνας. "A good-for-nothing Macedonian, δλιθρος Μακεδών, an expression often borrowed by the later sophists from Demosthenes. The kings of Macedonia are called 'barbarians' and 'men destined to serve the Greeks' in the 3rd Olynthiac. The claim of the Greeks themselves to a descent from Hēracles (Hercules) was recognized by the Hellenodiceæ at the Olympic games (*Hdt.* v. 22, with Valckenār's notes). This pedigree is also admitted unhesitatingly by Isocrates (*Oratio ad Phil.* c. 12). Cf. *Libanius*, 4th part, p. 283, 16. Of the worthlessness of Macedonian slaves we have no evidence beyond what is here stated. Macedonia is never mentioned as one of the countries from which slaves were obtained, a circumstance to which the Macedonians might well refer as being a credit rather than a disgrace to their nation." *J.*

§ 6. [§ 32, p. 119.]

B 6 κοινὸν . . . ἀγῶνα. "Concerning the right of the Amphictyons to the presidency at the Pythian games, see *Tittmann*, p. 109. This privilege was expressly guaranteed to Philip (*Diodor.* 16, 20) at a meeting held in the third year of the 118th Olympiad, and was the first step towards his assumption (*Ol.* 110, 3) of the rank of Captain-general of Greece (*Diodor.* 16, 20)." *J.* || τοὺς δούλους, his slaves, as he contemptuously calls his Macedonian nobles. || εἰς Πορθμὸν. *Portmos*, the castle of Eretria in Eubœa, on the Euripus, opposite Athens. The walls of this fortress were demolished by Philip, *Ol.* 109, 1. In the *Orat. de Cor.* § 25, A, Demosthenes mentions the same occurrence, and takes credit for his opposition to the encroachments of the king 'when he directed his attention to Eubœa, and

made it a bulwark against Athens, ventured to attack Megara, took (P. possession of Oreos, destroyed Porthmos, and established Philistides 40). as a tyrant in Oreos, and Clitarchus in Eretria.' Cf. Or. de Fals. Leg. p. 368, 24." J. || ἄλλ' ὅμως ταῦτ' ὀρώμεντες . . . ἀνέχονται. Observe the ὅμως prefixed to the participle, though it more immediately belongs to ἀνέχονται (the participle being resolved adversatively), though they see, yet notwithstanding this they, &c. Cf. Gr. 1126, c. § 697, c; and cf. 52, 15: ὅμως καίπερ οἰκτίως ἔχων τοῦτοις οὐκ ἐτόλμα. Aesch. 3, 88: ἄλλ' ὅμως ὑμεῖς τοιαῦτα πεπονθότες πάλιν διελέσασθε πρὸς αὐτούς. Liv. 21, 56, 10: "tamen in tot circumstantiis malis mansit aliquamdiu immota acies." F. || καθ' ἑαυτοὺς, κ.τ.λ. Jn. γενίσθαι καθ' ἑαυτοῦς. || ἐφ' οἷς ἡ Ἑλλάς ὑβρίζεται . . . ἀμύνεται, i. e. ἀμύνεται ἐπὶ τοῖς τοῖς δ' ἡ Ἑλλ. ὑβρίζεται.—ἐφ' οἷς = in his robus; as in the Or. contr. Aristocr. 190: τὸ δ' ἐφ' οἷς μίγα πρᾶγμα ἀλυσιτελὲς τῇ πόλει κατασκευάζετο, ἐναντιοῦσθαι, κ.τ.λ. = "in his adversari, in quibus," &c.

Ἀμφρακίαν . . . καὶ Λευκάδα. For an account of Leucas and Ambracia, see above, note on p. 141, c. J. || Ναύρακτον. "Naupactus (now Lepanto) was situated on the northern coast of the gulf of Corinth. In ancient times the city had belonged to the Locrians, and subsequently to the Messenian emigrants, who had settled there after the conquest of their own country. These Messenians were expelled by the victorious Lacedæmonians after the battle of Ægos-Potamos (Pausanias, 5, 26, 2. 10, 38, 10). This city, with Calydon and Dyme, afterwards fell into the hands of the Achæans (Diodor. 15, 75), to the great disgust of the Ætolians, who had long wished to possess it (Xen. Hist. Gr. 4, 6, 14)." J. || Ἐχίνον. [It was a city founded by Theban colonists, in the south of Thessaly, on the north coast of the Sinus Maliacus. Wst.] "A city called Echinus is mentioned by Stephanus Byz. as situated in Acarnania. Harpocration also speaks of it, but says nothing of its position. As Philip took it from the Thebans, it could not have been very distant from Boeotia. Cf. Polyb. 17, 3, 12, where Echinus is mentioned among several Thessalian towns. Cf. also Livy, 33, 13, 6." J. || καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ Βυζαντίους, κ.τ.λ. "The words, 'is he not now proceeding to attack the Byzantines!' must be understood of his intentions, which were at that time sufficiently evident, but were not carried into effect until the following year. See Krüger on Clinton's Fast. Hellen. Ol. 109, 4, p. 157." J. || συμπάρομαι ὄντας, sc. αὐτῶν. || οὐχ ἡμῶν. Dem. begins the sentence as if he intended to enumerate more cities than one, but breaks off and mentions but one. Cf. 24, 107: ὅς . . . τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐγώ, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τῶ γῆρα βοηθοὺς λυμαινῶ. F. || βλέπομεν. "Non ἀποβλέπουσι, quod esset auxilium expectantium (cf. 4, 7. 14, 15), sed βλέπουσι, quod h. l. suspiciōsarum est, timentium, ne quid alter alteri præripiat (cf. § 36, 1)." F. || τί οἴεσθε, . . . τί ποιήσαν; There is a similar emphatic repetition of the prepos. in the Or. de Cor. § 240 [§ 102, my ed.]. Cf. 18, 240: τί ἂν οἴεσθε, εἰ τότ' . . . κατίστη, τί ποιῆν ἂν ἡ τί λίγειν τοὺς δασυβαῖς ἀνδράποκους τουτοῦσι; F. || καθ' ἑνα ἡμῶν, κ.τ.λ. Jn. ἐκείδαν γίνεσθαι κόριος ἐκδοῦν ἡμῶν καθ' ἑνα. Cf. Ol. 2, § 24: σισώκασι

(P. . . . καθ' ἵνα αὐτῶν ἕκαστον ἐν μέρει (= σισώκ. ἕκαστ. αὐτῶν καθ' 40). ἵνα).

§ 7. [§ 36, p. 120.]

7 οὐ . . . ἀνευ . . . δικαίας αἰτίας, non sine gravi causâ (not without some good reason; some sufficient cause). || οὔτε νῦν, sc. ἔχουσι. || ἦν τι τότ', ἦν, 1, 19: "fuit hoc quondam, fuit proprium populi Romani. Cic. Manil. 12, 32." F. || ἐλευθέραν (i. q. ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ s. δι' ἐλευθερίας) ἤγε τὴν Ἑλλάδα: "ita docebat s. educabat (moderabatur) Graeciam, ut libera maneret" (F.): i. e. the ἐλευθέραν is proleptic. Gr. 643 (523) § 439, 2. || ναυμαχίας . . . ἡττήτο. Observe, it is the sentiment that is not defeated in any battle; and the loss (ἀπολῶδός) of the sentiment which throws all into confusion. On the gen. cf. Gr. 888 (690) § 504. || λελύμανται is, of course, 3rd sing., the ν being radical. || ἄνω καὶ κάτω πεποίηκε. The full form, ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω, and the colloquial form, ἄνω κάτω, also occur. Cf. Ol. 2, note, p. 49 of my ed. || τί οὖν ἦν τοῦτο; and what, then, was this principle? || χυλεπώτατον ἦν, it was a terrible thing (i. e. from its consequences).

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A τιμωρίᾳ μεγίστῃ, such as death, ἀτιμία, confiscation of property, a fine amounting to ten times the bribe received, &c. The same laws, it is true, were still in existence; but the patriotic spirit which caused them to be fully acted upon was extinct, and thus the law comparatively a dead letter. || τὸν καιρὸν ἑκάστου τῶν πραγμάτων, ὃν . . . οὐκ ἦν πρίσθαι, κ.τ.λ., there was no buying from the orators, nor yet from the generals, those favorable conjunctures [lit. that right season, or that favorable opportunity, with respect to each operation], &c. In every plan or operation there will be some one or more critical moment, when an attack or measure would be successful. Such favorable moments occur, and befriend even the indolent; but when these, as they occur, are sold to the enemy, then the indolent and inattentive have no hope, since even what Fortune offers is rendered useless. || ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἐκπύρραιται, "tanquam e foro divendita sunt, ita ut jam forum (respublica) his mercedibus vacuum habeatur." F. || ἂν ὁμολογῇ, as Philocrates did. || τούτοις, neuter. || ὅσα . . . ἤρτηται, are the inseparable attendants of bribery [lit. "quod pendent ex corruptelia." V.].

B ἐπεὶ, κ.τ.λ. This particle, with the sentence it introduces, refers to a suppressed thought, such as—the reason I have assigned must be the true one; for it cannot be, for instance, the weakness of the state, since, &c. Gr. 1408, d (948). || σωματίων, i. e. ὀγκιστῶν καὶ ἰκτινῶν (4, 40). F. || χρημάτων may be almost equally well connected with either πλῆθος or αἴσθησις. F. connects it with ἀφθονία. || τῶν τότε, i. e. ἡ τοῖς τότε, in the time of the Persian war. F.

§ 8. [§ 41, p. 121.]

8 ὅτι δ' οὕτως ταῦτ' ἔχει. This is nearly a standing formula in the orators for stating what they are going to prove: e. g. in calling upon

the scribe to read passages in proof of what the orator had just (P. advanced. Thus de Cor. § 13, c: *ὅτι δὲ οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει, λέγε μοι, 41).* κ.τ.λ. Such a notion as *ἵνα εἰδῇτε* may be supplied before it. *Wst.* || *ἐν τοῖς ἀνωθεν χρόνοις· ἀνωθεν*, traced upwards from the present to the past. || *πάναντία* is here adverbial, to be connected with *εἶχεν*: = *ἐναντίως εἶχεν*. || *γράμματα (literæ)* = *γράμματα δημόσια*, answering to our records. The names of traitors were engraved on a pillar of brass. || *ἐς ἀκρόπολιν*, in the Acropolis. On the omission of the article, cf. Gr. 682 (551).

γένος. "Solennis est in hac formula articuli omisio. Sintonis ad c Plut. Pericl. p. 43." F. || *εἰτα* = *and then*. Gr. 1467 (*extr.*). || *τὸν χρυσὸν*, κ.τ.λ. "This instance of severity in the case of Arthmius, which is also mentioned by Plutarch (Life of Themistocl. c. 6), is again commended by Demosthenes (Or. de Fals. Leg. p. 427), where the words of the inscription are thus paraphrased, 'because he brought the gold of the barbarians to the Greeks.' Æschines, however (Or. c. Ctesiph. § 65, A), turns them against Demosthenes, when he accuses him of having sold himself to the Persians. The pillar with this inscription was set up in the Acropolis, on the right of the statue of Athênê, which was made out of the Persian spoils." J. In this sense *χρυσίον* is more common. But so Æsch. 3, 258. || *τίς . . ποθ'.* Gr. 1346, § 872, 2, a. || *ἄξιωμα*, = *φρόνημα*. || *βασίλειος*. Gr. 673 (543) § 447, obs. || *ἄτιμος* cannot, of course, refer to the loss of his civil rights, since he could not have any such in Athens. The sense in which it is to be understood, is explained by Dem. himself just below.

οὕτως, in the usual sense, i. e. so, in the sense we attach to the word *δ* when we hear it. || *τί γὰρ τῷ Ζελείτῃ . . . εἰ . . .* (nearly = *ὅτι*) *ἔμελλεν*; κ.τ.λ., for what was it to the *Zelite* that, i. e. what did it concern this *Zelite* that (L.). || *Ἀθηναίων* is dependent gen. The nom. would be *τὰ Ἀθηναίων κοινά*, the (common) rights of Athenian citizens. The argument, as it proceeds, rather suggests than states the difference: the meaning is, the infamy meant is not that by which an Athenian is punished, when deprived of his civil rights, but that which is understood when the law, in certain cases of murder, says, *let him die infamous*, or *in infamy*; that is, it is to be allowed to any man to slay him with impunity. Hence some old grammarians explained *ἄτιμος* here by *ἀτιμώροτος*. || *ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν μὴ διδῷ*, sc. *ὁ νομοθέτης*.—*ὑπὲρ ὧν* = *ὑπὲρ τούτων*, *ὑπὲρ ὧν*: "super iis, pro quibus (interfectis) non permisit capitis causam instituere (in interfectores)." 23, 41: *ἐὰν δ' ἔξω τούτων κτείνῃ τις αὐτὸν ἄλλοθι πού, τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δίκην δίδωκεν, ἣν περ ἂν τὸν Ἀθηναίων κτείνῃ*. Ceterum *δικάζεσθαι δίκην* litigantis est, *δικάζειν δίκην* judicis." F. || *καὶ ἄτ*. "The words 'and let him die as infamous,' are the words of the law, the remainder (*ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν μὴ διδῷ*, κ.τ.λ.) being merely a reference to the general sense of the statute, which treats of cases where the manslaughter is not liable to an indictment for murder." J. || *φησὶ*, sc. *ὁ νομοθέτης*. This verb is often added pleonastically after *εἶπε*, *γράφεται*, &c. Cf. Æsch. 3, 127: *καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ψηφίσματι . . . γράφει· τὸν ἱερομνήμονα, φησὶ, τῶν Ἀθηναίων . . . μὴ μετέχειν*. Ib. 110: *γράφεται γὰρ οὕτως ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ· εἰ τις τάδε*, Phil. Dem.

- (P. φησὶ, παραβαῖνοι . . . ἐναγῆς, φησὶν, ἔστω, κ.τ.λ. F. || τῶν αὐτῶν, 41). the perf. imperative, denotes the immediate and full completion of the action. || καθάρων, *free from blood-guiltiness*. || λέγει, . . . εἶναι. Gr. 1092 (831, b). || μὴ τοῦθ' ὑπολ., i. e. εἰ μὴ τοῦθ' ὑπελάμβανον. F. || ἐκόλαζον . . . ἐτιμῶρ. "Hoc ad poenam legis debitam, illud ad castigationem emendationemque peccantium refertur. Heindorf. ad Plat. Protag. § 40." F. || οὕς αἰσθύντο, sc. ὠνούμενους καὶ διαφθείροντας. On the opt. cf. Gr. 1251 (924) § 831, 4, a. || ὥστε καὶ στ. π.: ὥστε ἐγγράψαι τὰ δνόματα αὐτῶν ἐν στήλαις ὡς κακουργῶν καὶ καταδικασθέντων. Wolf.

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- A οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχεθ' ὑμεῖς, sc. τὴν δίδουσαν.

§ 9. [§ 47, p. 123.]

- 9 ἔστι, *there is*, i. e. there is circulated, used, or the like. || ὡς ἄρα, *how that*, &c. Gr. 1149, e (1046) § 788, 5. || ποτ' ἦσαν, in the days of their Hegemony. || ὑφίστατο αὐτοῖς, *withstood them*. Gr. 936 (741) § 584, 1, obs. 1 || ἀνηρπάσθη. "Ἀναρπάζειν, funditus perdere, pessumdare, ut si arborem radicibus humo evellat." *Rek.* Cf. *Æsch.* 3, 133: Θῆβαι δὲ, Θῆβαι, πόλις ἀστυγείτων, μεθ' ἡμέραν μίαν ἐκ μίσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνήρπασται. F. || ὡς ἔπος εἰπῶν. Gr. 1513, j. § 693, d.
- B τὰ τοῦ πολέμου, *the art of war*. || πρῶτον μὲν. "His respondent οὕτω δ' ἀρχαίως." F. || ἀκούς, *I have heard*. Gr. 776, g (614, d) § 396. || τὴν ὥρᾱν αὐτὴν, (lit. *the fine season itself* =) *just during the season of fine weather*: i. e. in the summer months, which, however, would be really, as Wst. observes, seven or eight months. Cf. 56, 30: ἐνταῦθα δ' ἐπιδημήσαντες παραχειμάζειν ἴδει καὶ περιμένειν τὴν ὥρᾱν. F. The time mentioned is the space *within which* the invasions took place: no one invasion lasted more than forty days. Wst. || ἂν . . . ἀναχωρεῖν = ἀνεχώρουν ἂν, *would retire; used to retire*. Gr. 786 (630) § 424, b. The ἂν is placed after the participle, because it also in some measure modifies the participle in the same way: *they would invade and ravage the country, and then withdraw their forces*. || οὕτω ἀρχαίως εἶχον, *they were so old-fashioned* (he speaks in praise of the simplicity of the good old time).—πολιτικῶς, *so like honest citizens*. || ὥστε . . . ὀνείσθαι . . . οὐδέν, *as to purchase no advantage*, &c. "Non cavponantes bellum sed belligerantes Ferro, non auro, vitam carnarum utrique." *Enn.* || ἀκότερε . . . Φίλ. . . . βαδίζοντα. Gr. 1110 (843) § 684, ii. || τῷ φάλαγγι, κ.τ.λ. Amongst the Macedonians, as well as the Greeks generally, the Hoplites were the main strength of the army. The Macedonian phalanx was a military invention of Philip's.
- C ξένους. "By the introduction of mercenary troops, a total change was effected in the military as well as the political condition of Greece. 'At this time,' says Isocrates, 'it were easier to raise an army of exiles than an army of citizens.'" J. || ἐξηργήσθαι τι = *aliquid*

a se suspensum habere; "to have any thing hung to him, hence to drag (P. any thing about after him. On the acc. cf. 910 (719) § 584, 2. || ἐπὶ 42). τούτοις, *præterea*. F. || δι' ἀπιστίαν, sc. τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους. || σιωπῷ θέρος καὶ χειμῶνα, ὡς οὐδὲν διαφέρει. Gr. 1404 (1011) § 898, 2. On the omission of the art. (just as in our *summer and winter*), cf. Gr. 677 (547).—οὐδὲν διαφέρει, sc. αὐτῷ. || εὐθύθειαν, *simplicity*. || ἐκτραχηλισθῆναι ἐκτραχηλίζειν, to *throw over his head* (said of a plunging or rearing horse); hence pass. to break one's neck, to be ruined. || ὡς ἐκ πλείστου, as long before as possible. On the order cf. Gr. 981 (776, b). So Liv. 26, 24, 1: "so in *maiores futuros honores*." || τοῖς πράγμασι, in your policy; by your political measures. These datives are to be connected with σκοποῦντας. F. || ὅπως . . . κινήσεται. Gr. 1313 (954) § 811.

οὐχί, sc. δέ. || συμπλακέντας, lit. *implicatos*. Cf. Ol. 2, p. 11, D: D *ἰπειδὴν δὲ ὕμνος πόλεμος συμπλακῇ*. F. "*Quænam eos tanto Fortuna indigna, Latini, Implicavit bello?*" V. *Æn.* 11, 109. || πρὸς μὲν . . . εἰς δέ. 3, 1: ἐγὼ δ', ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, νομίζω τὸν μὲν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς βασιλίᾳ χαλεπὸν τῇ πόλει, τὸν δ' ἀγῶνα τὸν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου ῥάδιον ἀν συμβάντα. Διὰ τί; "Οτι τοὺς μὲν πολέμους ἀπαντας ἀναγκαίως ἡγοῦμαι τριῶν καὶ χρημάτων καὶ τόπων δεῖσθαι, ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἀφθονώτερα ἐκείνων ἔχοντα ἡμῶν εὐρίσκω τοὺς δ' ἀγῶνας οὐδενὸς οὕτω τῶν ἄλλων ὁρῶ δεομένους ὡς ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν, τούτους δ' ἡμῖν καὶ τοῖς μεθ' ἡμῶν κινδυνεύουσι πλείους ὑπάρχειν νομίζω. F. || πόλεμον . . . ἀγῶνα. "We find the same antithesis between 'combat' and 'war' in the *Oratio de Symm.* p. 180, 14." J. || ἡ φύσις τῆς ἐκ. χώρας. This is one instance of the many *advantages* the Athenians would have; to which the ἄλλα μυρία is appended *asyndetically*. What is the difference between *μύριος* and *μυρίος*? || ἧς . . . πολλήν. Gr. 856, c, *extr.* (706) § 442, c. || ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν, to *ravage and lay waste*. Gr. Syn. 96.

§ 10. [§ 53, p. 124.]

εὐδὲ. "Adverte Græcorum consuetudinem in talibus enuntiatio-
tionibus adverbium μόνον soli priori membro sic tribuentium, ut
etiam ad posterius pertineat. *Schæf.*" Cf. de Cor. § 1, A (*extr.*). || τῇ
λογισμῇ καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ, s. *ratione et animo*. F. || μισῆσαι, *odium*
conspicere; *μισεῖν, odisse*. F.

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μή τι δαίμ., "ne qui malus genius rempublicam agitat, i. e. trans-
versam agat, in perniciem det." F. "It was an old saying, that
when the gods wished to destroy a wicked person, they deprived him
of understanding, and thus made him the instrument of his own ruin.
In accordance with this notion Euripides says,

ὅταν γὰρ ὀργὴ δαιμόνων βλάβῃ τινά,
τοῦτ' αὐτὸ πρῶτον, ἐξαφαιρεῖται φρενῶν
τὸν νοῦν τὸν ἐσθλόν, εἰς δὲ τὴν χεῖρῳ τρέπει
γνώμην ἴν' εἰδῇ μηδὲν ὧν ἀμαρτάνει.

This opinion seems to have been general among the writers of
antiquity, who were wont to attribute to divine influence the in-

(P. fatuation of those, whose moral blindness was in reality the effect of 43). their own sinfulness. 'Quippe ita se res habet, ut plerumque cujus fortunam mutaturus est deus, consilia corrumpat, efficiatque, quod miserrimum est, ut quod accidit, id etiam merito accidisse videatur, et casus in culpam transeat. Vellej. Patere. ii. 57.' We are reminded here of a passage in the 'Clouds' of Aristophanes (v. 1458), cited by Ruhnken, in which those goddesses, when charged by Strepsiades with having occasioned his misfortunes, reply,

'Tis not for us to warn a wilful sinner ;

We stay him not, but let him run his course,

'Till, by misfortunes roused, his conscience wakes,

And prompts him to appease th' offended gods.'

Cumberland's Translation.

There is a similar sentiment in Æsch. Orat. c. Ctesiph. § 41, A, where he enumerates the divine judgements of that period. 'Thebes in a single day lost her place among the nations of Greece, and deservedly too, for she was ever careless of the general weal ; yet the judgement which befell her was not the work of man, but a visitation of divine vengeance (θεοβλάβειαν [*a judicial blindness*]), and the result of her own infatuation.' J. || σκώματος. 23, 206 : ὑμεῖς τοὺς τὰ μέγιστ' ἀδικούντας καὶ φανερώς ἐξελεγχόμενους, ἀν' ἐν ἡ δύο ἀστεία εἰπωσιν, ἀφίετε. F. || τύχητε, sc. κελεύοντες. || οὐδ' ἀν' ἀρνηθῆεν . . . ὥς οὐκ. Gr. 1177 (884) § 750, 2, obs. 4. || ὥς οὐκ εἰσὶ, i. e. μὴ εἶναι τοιοῦτοι. Cf. on de Chers. p. 27, D : ὥς οὐκ ἀληθῆ ταῦτ' ἐστὶν οὐχ ἔξετε ἀντιλέγειν. || οὐχί πω τοῦτο δεινόν, κ.τ.λ. Cf. de Chers. § 6, C. || ἀλλά, i. e. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο δεινότερόν ἐστιν, ὅτι κ.τ.λ.

§ 11. [§ 56, p. 125.]

- 11 ἦσαν . . . Φιλίππου, were creatures of Philip, were in the interest of
B Philip. (L.)—ἦσαν τοῦ βελτιστοῦ, were for the good cause ; had the true
interests of their country at heart. Liv. 23, 14, med. : "plebs novarum,
ut solet, rerum atque Hannibalis tota esse." F. || τῶν ἐν τοῖς πρ.,
of those who were at the head of affairs. || ὅπως. Gr. 1313 (954)
§ 811. || πότριοι δὴ, jam utri. F. || τοὺς ἱππέας, κ.τ.λ. "Five
hundred Olynthian knights, who had been formerly commanded by
Apollónides, an Athenian citizen, were delivered up to the king,
with their arms in their hands, through the treachery of Lasthenes.
Demosth. Or. de Fals. Leg. p. 246, 16." J.

§ 12. [§ 57, p. 125.]

- 12 παρὰ τούτοις . . . ἄλλοι δ' οὐδαμοῦ. See above, οὐ γράφει μὲν
C ταῦτα τοῖς δ' ἔργοις οὐ ποιεῖ, p. 39, C, extr. || ἀπαλλαγέντος, after the
departure (which was really the expulsion) of Plutarchus and the
foreign troops. The partic. agrees with the nearest substantive.
|| Πλουτάρχου. "In Ol. 106, 3, Plutarchus, tyrant of Eretria, being
hard pressed by Clitarchus (who was supported by the troops of
Philip), applied to the Athenians for assistance. This application
was seconded by Midias, a friend of the tyrant, and resisted by De-
mosthenes ; but, in spite of the orator's opposition, Phocion was sent
to Eubœa, Ol. 106, 4. 'Phocion,' says his biographer (Vit. Phocion.

e. 12), 'found the island full of traitors, and expelled the tyrants (P. from Eretria, probably as a punishment for some act of treason of 43). which they had been convicted. After the expulsion of these tyrants, the inhabitants of Eretria divided themselves into two parties, the Macedonian and the Athenian. The former of these having gained the upper hand, Philip took possession of the city.' In Ol. 109, 3, Philip's protégé, Clitarchus, declared war against Athens, and was expelled from Eubœa (Diodor. 16, 74). See also n. p. 142, B, to the present Oration." J. || τὸν Πορθμόν, a stronghold in the district of Eretria. || ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἦγον τὰ πρ., "ad vos res (rempublicam) trahébant, i.e. 'vestris partibus studebant volebantque vobiscum consociari.'" B. || τούτων = the latter. || τελευτώντες = at last. Gr. 1121 (852) § 696, obs. || καὶ γὰρ τοι, etenim profecto. Klotz. || δις ἡδὴ βουλομένους, i.e. the popular party in Eretria, who wish to throw off the yoke of their tyrants by entering into an alliance with Athens.

§ 13. [§ 59, p. 126.]

τί δαί . . . ἀλλ'. See above, top of p. 39, καὶ τί δαί, κ.τ.λ. 13 || ἔπραττε Φιλίππῳ, acted for Philip; (was the agent for Philip. L.) D 19, 77: ὅτι Θεβαίους τὰ πράγματα πράττει. Sch. || ἔπρε . . . ἔσονται, dpt on ἔπραττε (id agebat, ut). Gr. 1313 (954) § 811. || τὰ μὲν ἄλλα. Jn. ὡς οὗτος τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὑβρίζετο.—τὰ ἄλλα opposed to the throwing him in prison (below), which was itself a ὑβρις. || ὑβρίζετο καὶ προεπ. (πολλὰ γὰρ ὑβρίσται καὶ προπεπληδίσταται, 22, 58), was insulted and trampled upon (Br.); the first denotes the genus (injuria), the second the species (contumelia). F. || πρὸτ. τῆς ἀλ. = πρὸ τῆς ἀλώσεως. 42, 2: δυοῖν ἢ τρισὶν ἡμέραις πρότερον τῆς εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον εἰσόδου. Æsch. 1, 12: μὴ πρότερον ἡλίου ἀνιόντος. F. || συστραφέντες, conspiratī (Rsk.), i. q. συστάντες. Cf. 23, 170: συστραφέντων τοῦ τε Βηρισάδου καὶ τοῦ Ἀμαδόκου. Æsch. 2, 177: οὗτοι νῦν ἐπ' ἐμὲ συστραφέντες ἤκουσι. F. || χορηγόν, paymaster; the supplier of their funds. Cf. 19, 216: Φιλίππῳ χορηγῶ χρώμενος. Cf. Æsch. 1, 54. 2, 79. F. || πρυντανεύομενοι, i. q. διοικούμενοι (Harpoer.). Cf. de Pac. § 2, D (line 1).

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ἀποτυμπανίσαι. Cf. p. 127, 11, B. || ἐπιτιγθεῖον, idoneum, i.e. a dignum (cf. Kritz. ad Sall. Cat. 51, 27). Dem. 22, 57: πολλὰ γὰρ ἂν τις ἰδοὶ πολλοὺς ἐπιτιγθεῖους ὄντας πάσχειν καὶ πεπονθέναι. Cf. Æsch. 3, 230. F. || ἐπιχάειν, sc. αὐτῷ ὑβρίζομιν, delectabatur ejus calamitate. Cf. 21, 134: ἄλλα σοι ἐπιχάειρον. "Ἐπιχάειρον et ἐφῆδεσθαι gaudere ob aliquid, συνήδεσθαι τινι una gaudere ob aliquid, qualescunque sit ob quod gaudeas. Schæf. (ad Eur. Med. Porson. p. 26.) F. I have shown, in a note on de Coron., that (with respect to συνήδεσθαι) this is a necessary limitation of the distinction given in Liddell and Scott. || ἐπ' ἐξ. ὁπόσης, i.e. ἐφ' ὁπόσης (v. ad § 25): "in tanta libertate quantā volebant (with all the freedom they desired; in perfect freedom)." F. || ῥῆξαι φωνήν, rumpere vocem. V. Forbig. ad Virg.

(P. *Æn.* 2, 129 (F.): *burning*, as it were, the chains that bound their tongues. || διασκευασάμενοι, in battle array; in order of battle; lit. having disposed their forces.

B οὕτως. JN. οὕτως ἀλούσης, the αἰσχροῦς καὶ κακῶς defining the manner meant (not οὕτως αἰσχροῦς). || τοὺς . . . ὄντας τοὺς μὲν . . . τοὺς δὲ σχῆμα καθ' ὅλον καὶ μέρος. Cf. p. 18, c. F. || τότε, when accused by Euphræus. || καὶ τὸν Εὐφρ. . . ὄντας, "paratos adversum Euphræum omnia facere (cf. Terent. Phorm. 2, 3, 80). Cf. § 13, D [οὗτος] sq." F. || ἀπέσφαξεν ἑαυτόν. Gr. 730 (586, c) § 363, 4. || καθαρῶς, from pure motives; conscientiously.

§ 14. [§ 63, p. 127.]

14 αἴτιον . . . τό. See above, n. p. 127, top. || πρὸς τοὺς . . . || τοὺς. Gr. 1436, § 650. || ὅπερ = ταὐτὸ ὅπερ.

C ὑπὲρ τοῦ βελτίστου. Cf. above, § 11. || τὰ πράγματ', *salus et libertas patriæ*. B. *The state*, as comprehending all the affairs of the nation. Wst. || οἱ δ', but they, i. e. those who speak in Philip's interest. || ἐν αὐτοῖς οἷς, κ.τ.λ. JN. συμπαράττονσι Φιλίππῳ ἐν αὐτοῖς οἷς χαρίζονται, "in iis ipsis rebus, quibus gratificantur, sc. vobis gratiam cum vobis ineunt." || εἰσφέρειν ἐκείνου, understand οἱ μὲν (οἱ ὑπὲρ τοῦ βελτίστου λέγοντες): an omission which is readily implied by the antithetical structure of the clause. The speaker omits this οἱ μὲν, because he identifies himself with this party, and wishes to speak of them especially. Cf. de Cor. § 121 [§ 56 my ed.]: οὐδ' αἰσχύνῃ φθόνου διῆν εἰσάγειν, καὶ νόμους μεταποιῶν, τῶν δ' ἀφαιρῶν μέρος. Wst. Cf. Liv. 3, 37, extr.: "et jam ne tergo quidem absternebatur: virgins cædi, alii securi subijci." F. || ἕως ἐγκατελήφθησαν, sc. τῇ εἰρήνῃ, till they were taken in the toils; he speaks of the peace as of a net spread out to catch them. || ἐφ' οἷς χαρίζονται, not *ea quæ delectarent*, as F. translates, but *ea quibus gratiam cum vobis iniuri erant*. He does not speak of it as a motive, but as a certain result of the advice they gave. || τὰ τελευταῖα, at last (the καὶ does not belong to these words). [F. "multa et quidem postrema (i. e. quæ postremo prodiderunt)."] || οὕχ οὕτως, i. e. not in the manner that I have described; not from these causes or motives. [Wst. says, οὕχ οὕτως, sc. ὥστε σωθήσεσθαι: and Schæf., "pro ἀλλὰ exspectes ὥς. Sed ita sæpius Græci. Non multum differt οὐ μᾶλλον ἀλλὰ." || προσίαντο, properly *ad se admittebant*; allowed them to happen; let them take their chance. || ὑποκατακλινόμενοι (*bowing themselves*, as it were, before the force of circumstances), from yielding to circumstances.

D τοῖς ὅλοις 1, 3: in summa re. F. || μὴ δὲν ἐν ὑμῖν ἐνόν, that there is nothing more for you to do. || μὴ γένοιτο . . . τὰ πράγματ' ἐν τούτῳ, may it never come to this. || δέ, but if it does; in that case. Cf. Cic. de Offic. 1, 31, 113: "At Ajax, quo animo traditur, milites oppetere mortem potius, quam illa perpeti maluisset." F. || καλὴν γ', the γε strengthens the irony which καλὴν itself possesses. B. || Λαοσθένη . . . Ἀπολλωνίδην. Cf. above, n. on § 11 (extr.). On the other hand, Hyperides says (Rhett. Gr. ed. Walz. 9, 547) of

Euthykratea, γενόμενος ἱκταρχος τοῖς Ὀλυνθίων ἱκτίας προέδωκε (P. Φιλίππ. Wx. 44).

PAGE 45.

καία, cowardice. | τὰ ταῦτα. sc. as those do who put them- ^A
selves in the power of Philip. | βουλευόμενος, sc. τινάς (v. 2, 5).
"Infinite loquens Atheniensium significat." Cf. § 73. F. | μηδ' ἂν
ὄντιον ῖ θανὸν πείσασθαι = ὥστε μὴ πείσασθαι θανὸν μηδ' ἂν
ὄντιον ῖ, *let even what may happen; that happen what may, they shall*
suffer so evil. Cf. 19, 321: ὑποσχέονται ἐξ ὧν μηδ' ἂν ὄντιον ῖ
κατηθήσονται. | καὶ μὲν, and again. Gr. 1482, (1053, l) § 728, c.
| τὸ γάρ. Gr. 1456, g. § 872. The first γάρ gives the reason for the
expression of surprise that belongs to the speech generally [*why, who*
would have thought . . .]; the other, that for the substance of the
question, the οὐκ αἰσθῆναι. Wx. | γενέσθαι. Gr. 1067 (830)
§ 405, obs. 2. | τὸ καὶ τὸ. Gr. 699 (562), § 444, 5, b. | προέ-
δωκε, i.e. προέκτελετο, "quo sensu medii usus est legitimus."
Sch. | εὐχεται, i.e. σὺν ῖ. F.

καὶ ναύτην καὶ κυβερνήτην καὶ πάντ' ἄνθρωπος ἔχει ("sicque om- ^B
nem deinceps testatur"). Gr. 677 (547). | καὶ = and so. | ἀνα-
τρέψαι. *Æsch.* 3, 158: ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς παρθρίας τοῖς εἰς Σαλαμίνα
παρθμεύοντας νόμον ἴθισθε, ἵαν τις αὐτῶν ἄκων ἐν τῷ πόρῳ πλοῖον
ἀνατρέψῃ, τοῦτω μὴ ἐξῆναι πάλιν παρθμεῖ γενέσθαι. F. ὑπερ-
σχε, sc. τοῦ σκαφός. F. | καὶ ἡμεῖς, i.e. οὗτω καὶ ἡμεῖς. F.
| ἔξω, § 43. 4, 3. F. | καθ., "recte positum ἂν, quod simulati-
que interpungas apparet: πάσαι τις, ἥτις ἂν ἴσως, ἐρωτήσων
κάθγου. Supplendum est enim ἐρωτῶν sive τοῦτο ποιῶν." *Herm.*
| καὶ γράφω δέ, and will also draw it up in the form of a regular propo-
sition. | ὥστε . . . χαρισανθήσεται, so that, if you choose, you will adapt
it by your vote.

ταῦτα = ὅτι παρεσκευάσμεθα. | τοὺς ταῦτα διδάξοντας. Cf. ^C
1128 (839). | εἰ δὲ μὴ. Gr. 1464, g. § 860, 5. | χρόνους =
διατριβάς. | πρὸς ἄνθρωπον, who, as being a man, and that a single
individual, is exposed every day to the casualties that may terminate
his existence; the life of an individual opposed to the abiding well-
consolidated strength of a state, συνεστώσης πόλεως. | ταῦτ', sc. τὸ
χρόνους ἐκποιῶν τοῖς πράγμασιν. | αἱ πέρ. *Wp.* Olymp. 109, 2, sc.
ἐχρησται ἐγένοντο. F.—Ol. 109, 2, sc. 343. Dem. was at the head
of these, *Æsch.* 3, 97.—προσβείαι, pl. because they visited several of
the Peloponnesian states. | κατηγορίας can hardly be the true read-
ing. Various corrections have been attempted, *κατ' Ἀκαρνανίαν*
(*Wissacski*), *κατ' Ἀμφρακίαν* (*Dringen*), *κατ' Ἡγεμον* (*Sauppe*); for
Philip's invasion of Epirus, and his attempt on Ambracia, had
taken place a little before this. It also appears that he had sent aid
to *Acarnania* (48, 24).—Krüger would refer ἄς to *προσβείας* only, as
the more important, though more remote, notion; others suppose a
ἔν διὰ δυνάμιν, so that *προσβείαι καὶ κατηγ.* = *criminales legationes*.
| Πολύευνος of Sphættion, a friend of Demosthenes, and warmly de-
voted to the popular party. | ἐκαστοῖς δευτικῶς, for he was pre-
sent in the assembly.

(P. Ἡγήσιππος. Cf. de Cor. § 28. || σὺ . . . παρακαλεῖν = οὐ λίγω (τινός)
45). αὐτοὺς μὴ ἰθίλοντας ποιεῖν τι ἀναγκαῖον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν παρακαλεῖν
D τοὺς ἄλλους. Wst. || συγκαλεῖν, κ.τ.λ. "Συγκαλεῖν in universum
est invitare; si invitatio nihil effecerit, συναγειν, quod fortius est,
instantis et urgentis; διδάσκειν, edocere de vera rerum conditione
isque quæ inde consecutura sint; νοουθετεῖν, edoctos oratione et
momentorum gravitate ad factum compellere." Br. Cf. 8, 76. F.

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A Χαλκιδ. . . . ἡ Μεγαρ., spoken with contempt. Wst. || ἡμεῖς δ'
ἀποδρ. Cf. 19, 331 : εἰτ' οἷσθε ἡμεῖς μὲν οὕτω γινώσκουσιν, τὸν δὲ
Φίλιππον οὐχ οὕτως ; Cf. ad § 9. F. || τὰ πράγματα, the trouble of
attending to public business. || ἀγαπητὸν γάρ, sc. ἐκείνοις, it is enough
for them if—; they are satisfied if—, &c. || τοῦτο τὸ γέρας, the honor-
able distinction of being the greater defenders of Grecian independ-
ence. || δ βούλεται, and not what the public good requires of him.
|| οὐδὲ μὴ ποθ' εὕρη, he will not even find. Gr. 797 (633) § 748.

§ 15. [§ 76, p. 132.]

15 μὲν δὴ. Gr. 1479 (1053, i) § 721, 1.

LIST OF THE MORE DIFFICULT WORDS AND PHRASES.

[A prefixed numeral indicates the section in which the word or phrase occurs.—A prefixed asterisk means that, in the passage referred to, the word occurs in a peculiar sense.]

Philipp. I.

2 ἐπιτευχίσματα	4 ἱππάγωγος	5 παρακύπτειν
τὰ κατιβράθυμημένα	ἐξαγγέλλειν	εἰκότως
*πράγματα	προχειρίσασθαι	ἐκόπτης
ἀποστροφή	μή μοι (without verb)	παρακαταστήσαι
προσπεριβάλλεται	ἐπιστολιμαῖος	*γέλως
περιστοιχίζεται	τροφή	αἱ πομπαί
ἐπιστήναι	ἐκ διαδοχῆς	ἱεροποιοί
3 εἰς δέον	ἀποχρῆν	6 περαίνω
τοῦ λοιποῦ	5 ληστεύειν	σιτηρίσιον
ἐπαγγίλλεσθαι	τὴν πρώτην	ἀφορμή

2 προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν = προσέχειν τὴν γνώμην πρὸς τινα. συν-
ελόντι δ' ἀπλῶς. ὑμῶν αὐτῶν—γενέσθαι. πάλιν ἀναλήψισθε. οἱ
—ἀσολγίας. μένιν ἐπὶ τούτων. ἀπηρητημένοι γνώμας. 3 ἐπάρ-
χειν ἰθίλοντας. ἐλεγχον δεῦναι. 4 ἀφύλακτος λαμβάνομαι. 5 οἱ
πλάττοντες τοὺς πηλίνους. 6 μικρόν τι πρὸς.

- | | | |
|--|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 6 ἔγνωκίμαι
προσπορίζεσθαι | 9 χορηγός
γυμνασίαρχος | 10 ἀπεγνωκίμαι
ὑποσχίσθαι |
| 8 *φυλάξαι (χειμῶνα)
βοηθείαι
ὑστερίζειν | 10 προβάλλεσθαι
συμπαραθεῖν | 11 ἀνδραποδιστής
λωποδυτής |
| χειμαδίῳ | ἀκμή | διασπᾶν |
| 9 γέγραφα | ἐγχωρεῖ | λόγους πλάττειν |
| ὄχλος | δημοσίᾳ | ὄνειροπολεῖν |
| παρασκευή | ἐκκαλίσαι | προαιρεῖσθαι |
- 8 πρὸς τῇ γῇ γενέσθαι. 9 ἄγων καὶ φέρων. 10 τῆς πληγῆς ἔχεσθαι. τεθνάναι τῷ δέει. 11 κρίνεσθαι περὶ θανάτου. ἐπ' ἀδύλοις οὐσι τοῖς γενησομένοις. ἐπὶ τῷ πεπιέσθαι.

De Pace.

- | | | |
|--|--|--|
| 1 προῖσθαι
προὔργον
δύσκολος
θορυβεῖν
τὰ προειμένα | 2 διοικίζειν
3 δεινότης
ἀλαζονεία
ἐπαναφέρειν
προῖκα
ἐπὶ θάτερα | 4 ἐφεδρος
ἄχρι τῆς ἰσης
ἐπιεκρυκεία
ἐκδέχεσθαι
*ἄγειν πόλεμον
προστησάμενοι
ἐπισπάσασθαι
ἐρῶσθαι λίγῳ
κατάγειν |
|--|--|--|
- 2 λυσιστελεῖν
λήμματα
αἱ εὐπορίαι
*φανερὸς
- 1 δυσκολίαν ἔχειν. 2 διοικεῖν Φιλίππῳ. 3 οἴχεται φέρον. 5 περὶ τῆς ἐν Δέλφοις σκιάς.

Philipp. II.

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| 1 ἀνταίρειν
2 παρεστηκέναι
οἱ θαρρόντες
προστίθεσθαι
τὰ ἥθη
ἐναντιοῦσθαι
τὰ τινα γιγνόμενα
ὡς ἐτέρως | 4 συμβάλλειν
προσδόκιμος
συντάττειν
ἐφεστηκέναι
5 ἐκπίπτειν
πραθείς
Πυλαία
7 δύστροπος | 7 ἔγονοι
ἔγγονοι
ἄλλως
τὰ νυνί
τὰ πολλά
συνίστασθαι |
|---|---|--|
- 1 ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν. 2 πρὸς πλεονεξίαν ἐξετάζων τι. ταῦτ' ὑπειληφώς. ἐπὶ τοῖς δίκαιοις. 4 *ὑπόπτως ἔχειν τινά. ἔστιν ἰδεῖν. 6 θορυβοῦσιν ὡς ὀρθῶς λέγεται. 7 οἱ ὑπὸ χεῖρα μάλιστα. τὴν ὁργὴν ἀφίναται.

De Rebus Cher.

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| 1 ἀφελεῖν
ἰσχυρίζεσθαι | 3 κατασκευάζειν | 6 διδάγειν |
| 2 συσκευάζεσθαι
κληροῦχος
πериόπτειν | 4 συνευπορεῖν
οἰκείως
εὐθενεῖν
εὐθηνεῖν | πινάκιον
εἰσαγγελία
Πάραλος
ἐπηρεάζειν |
| *κατάγειν (πλοῖα)
διαλθεῖν | εὐσθενεῖν | ἐπηρεα
θορυβεῖν |
| προσοφλισκάνειν | 6 *τιμᾶσθαι | *πρᾶγμα |
| 3 τὰ νῦν
παρασκευάζειν | παραπέμπεσθαι
εὐνοῖαι
προσαιοτεῖν | τρυφᾶν
κολακεύεσθαι |

1 ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἔστιν. ἀπὸ τούτων ἀποδρᾶναι. 2 οὐδενὸς ἦττον. πεποικίεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον. ἐπὶ πᾶσι δικάσις. δύναμις συνεστηκεῖν. 5 οὐκ ἔχω τί λίγω. 6 λαβεῖν ὑπὸ τοῖς νόμοις. δεινὸν ὃν οὐ δεινὸν ἔστιν. παρεσκευάσασιν ὑμᾶς φοβερούς.

6 ἀπογενίσθαι	7 ἔξ ἴσου
ἐπιτειχίσας	10 διαδικασία
δῆλον ὅτι	11 ἀποτυμπανίσαι
κινήσομαι	πλειονεξία
7 παρίναι	τὰ ἐπὶ θράκης
ὅλως	12 φιλανθρωπία
ἐνοχλεῖν	ἱταμῶς
ἀργῶς	14 ἐπανορθοῦν
ταμίας	

7 τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἔδαφος. τὰ νῦν συμβεβιασμένα. οὐδὲ πολλοὺ δει. 8 ποῖ ἀναδυόμεθα; 9 λόγος ἐμπίπτει. ἐπὶ πολλῷ γεγενῆσθαι. ἀγανακτῶ εἰ. 11 τῶν ὀνίων ἀφθονία. 14 τὸ ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασι. τοῖς πράγμασι χρῆσθαι.

Philipp. III.

1 ὀλίγον δεῖν	8 *γῶματα	πρυτανεύόμενος
*ἐμελλε	ἀξίωμα	ἀποτυμπανίσαι
*πολιτεῖαι	οὕτως	ἐπιχαίρειν
2 *πράττειν	9 τὰ τοῦ πολέμου	ἐφήδεσθαι
προβάλλειν	*ἀκούω	συνῆδεσθαι τινι
οὐ διαφέρωμαι	ἀρχαίως ἔχειν	ῥῆξαι φωνήν
3 λυσιτελεῖν	πολιτικῶς	διασκευασάμενος
4 ἀφεστηκεῖν	ἐξηρτησθαί τι	*καθαρῶς
5 λωποδυτεῖν	εὐθεία	14 ἰγκατεληφθῆναι
ἰσχυσα	ἐκτραχηλισθῆναι	προσιεσθαι
6 *πλεονάζειν	συμπλακεῖς	ὑποκατακλινόμενος
ἐπιπολάζω	10 θεοβλάβεια	
*χωρεῖν	11 εἶναι τινος	ἀνατρέπειν
συστήναι	13 συστραφέντες	συγκαλεῖν
*ὀλεθρός	*χορηγός	ἀγαπητὸν

1 οἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ὄντες. 4 μετίχουν τῶν λογισμῶν. 5 μέγας ὑψέσθαι. τριάκοντα ἐνὸς δέοντα. διορυσγυμεθα κατὰ πόλεις. ὥσπερ περίοδος ἡ καταβολὴ πυρετοῦ. 7 ἄνω καὶ κάτω. ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἐκπέπραται. 8 ἐν τοῖς ἄνωθεν χρόνοις. 9 τὴν ὥραιαν αὐτήν. 14 ὑπὲρ τοῦ βελτίστου.

T A B L E

OF THE

LIFE AND TIMES OF ÆSCHINES AND DEMOSTHENES.

B.C.	Olymp.	Archon.	Age Dem.	
<u>389</u> <u>388</u>	97.4	Antipater.	—	ÆSCHINES born.
<u>382*</u> <u>381</u>	99.3	Evander or Menander.	—	DEMOSTHENES born, about July, 382.— The Lacedæmonians, in conjunction with Amyntas, king of Macedonia, make war upon Olynthus, and send an army thither, under Phœbidas, in the spring of 382. He takes the Cadmea on his way, for which he is recalled, and Teleutias is sent to take his place, in the spring of 381.
<u>381</u> <u>380</u>	99.4	{ Demo- philus.	2	Teleutias is conquered and slain before midsummer, and Agesipolis sent out to take the command.
<u>380</u> <u>379</u>	100.1	Pytheas.	3	Agesipolis dies in midsummer (380), and is succeeded by Polybiades, who takes Olynthus and unites it to the Pelopon- nesian confederacy, in the spring of 379.
<u>379</u> <u>378</u>	100.2	Nicon.	4	The Cadmea recovered by the Theban ex- iles under Pelopidas. Cleombrotus sent out by the Spartan government to reduce the Thebans to subjection again. He returns without succeeding, and leaves Sphodrias in command, who makes an unsuccessful attempt upon the Piræus, which arouses Athens and certain other allies to unite with the Thebans in carrying on what was called the Bœo- tian war against the Lacedæmonians. Agesilaus is sent to Bœotia, with a large army, during the summer of 378.
<u>378</u> <u>377</u>	100.3	{ Nausini- cus.	5	Agesilaus, after some indecisive battles, returns to Sparta, leaving Phœbidas in

* The Attic year commenced in July; hence, according to our mode of reckoning, it included about a half of each of two years.

B.C.	Olymp.	Archon.	Age Dem.	
				command, who is conquered and slain by the Thebans. Agesilaus returns, in the spring of 377, and conquers the Thebans at Tanagra. On his way home he falls sick.
377 376	100.4	Callias.	6	Cleombrotus is again sent out to Boeotia, but with no better success than before.
376 375	101.1	{ Chari- sander.	7	Chabrias conquers the Lacedæmonian fleet at Naxos (Sept. 376), and Timotheus, after having taken Corecra and other Lacedæmonian islands and cities, gains another naval victory over them at Alyzia, in June, 375, which restores the naval supremacy to Athens.—Demosthenes left an orphan.
375 374	101.2	{ Hippo- damas or Hippo- damus.	8	The Lacedæmonians are overcome by the Thebans at Tegyra, in the summer of 375, and Cleombrotus is sent to their aid. This increases the pride of the Thebans and awakens the jealousy of the Athenians, so that they make peace with the Lacedæmonians, and recall Timotheus from Thrace, where he had reduced several cities to subjection to Athens.
374 373	101.3	Socratides.	9	Timotheus, on his way home, stops at Zacynthus (in the summer of 374), to reinstate a band of exiles, who had been banished by the oligarchical government of the place, which leads to a renewal of the war between Athens and Sparta. In the mean time the Thebans destroy Plataea (in the summer of 374), and soon after Thespise and Orchomenus (the latter not till 364). Timotheus is sent to oppose Mnasippus in Corecra, but, before he sails, is superseded by Iphicrates, who has Callistratus and Chabrias as colleagues.
373 372	101.4	Asteius.	10	Iphicrates reaches Corecra in the summer of 373, just as Mnasippus had been slain, and carries on the war successfully against Sparta. In the autumn of the same year, Timotheus is tried and acquitted, and leaves to join the king of Persia in the spring of 372.

B.C.	Olymp.	Archon.	Age Dem.	
<u>372</u> <u>371</u>	102.1	{ Alcisthenes.	11	The Athenians, indignant at the course of the Thebans towards the Boeotian towns, propose a peace with the Lacedæmonians, which is concluded (July, 371) in a common council at Sparta, which the Thebans also attended, but would not sign the treaty, because it required, not only that each of the belligerent parties should disband their forces, but should acknowledge the independence of all the other Grecian cities (they were not willing to acknowledge the independence of the Boeotian towns).
<u>371</u> <u>370</u>	102.2	{ Phrasicles.	12	Cleombrotus is ordered to move from Phocis upon Boeotia, where, twenty days after the peace, he encounters the Thebans under Epaminondas, and is overcome in the famous battle of Leuctra, which gave the Thebans the supremacy of Greece.—Megalopolis founded and Mantinea restored by the aid of the Thebans, to be the rivals of Lacedæmon in the Peloponnesus.
<u>370</u> <u>369</u>	102.3	{ Dyscithus.	13	Agésilas is sent into Arcadia (in the winter of 370) to check the spirit of independence which seemed to be rising there, but returns without having accomplished much. In the same winter, while Pelopidas was assisting the Thesalians against the Macedonians, the Thebans, under Epaminondas, make an expedition into the Peloponnesus to assist their friends there against Agésilas; but, not meeting him, they invade Laconia and remain there three months. After this they restore Messenia, and return home in the beginning of 369, having been hurried home by the pressure of want and the forces sent by Athens to aid the Lacedæmonians, under Iphicrates. After the Thebans withdraw, the Athenians complete a treaty with the Lacedæmonians against Thebes.
<u>369</u> <u>368</u>	102.4	{ Lysistratus.	14	The Thebans again enter the Peloponnesus; but, as the Lacedæmonians receive aid from Dionysius, they return

B.C.	Olymp.	Archon.	Age Dem.	
<u>356</u> 355	106.1	Elpines.	27	Iphicrates and Timotheus are sent out with a fleet of sixty ships to join Chares in reducing to obedience the rebellious allies, but are soon after removed from their office, on the accusation of Chares, for refusing to engage the enemy in a storm. Soon after this, Chares, destitute of means to support his fleet, leaves for Asia, and assists Artabazus against the king, in order to replenish his military chest. The Athenians, learning that the king, indignant at this conduct of Chares, was about to send aid to the rebellious allies, make peace with the confederates in the summer of 355.—Philip suppresses the designs of the Thracians, Paeonians, and Illyrians to unite their efforts against him. — Demosthenes makes his speeches against Androtion and Leptines.
<u>355</u> 354	106.2	{ Calli- stratus.	28	The Social or Phocian War, carried on by the Locrians and Thebans since 356, becomes a general war, and engages most of the Grecian states.— Philip seems to have invaded, during this year, the islands of Imbros, Scyros, and Lemnos.
<u>354</u> 353	106.3	Diotimus.	29	Philomelus, the Phocian general, severely beaten by the Thebans, and apprehending that he should not long survive, delivers up the command to his brother Onomarchus. — Demosthenes commences his political career by delivering his oration <i>Περὶ Συμμορίας</i> , in which he dissuades the Athenians from undertaking a war against the king of Persia.—In the spring of 353, Philip lays siege to the Macedonian city Methone, which was in alliance with Athens.
<u>353</u> 352	106.4	Eudemus.	30	Philip takes Methone, and soon after Pagasæ and Magnesia in Thessaly, whither he had been invited by the Thessalians to expel the tyrants of Phæræ and their allies, the Phocians. After succeeding in part, he is repulsed, but, immediately returning with

B.C.	Olymp.	Archon.	Age Dem.	
				a larger army, he effects their complete expulsion, and, in order to transfer the war to Phocia, attempts to pass Thermopylæ, but is prevented by the Athenians (in the spring or summer of 352).—Demosthenes delivers his orations against Timocrates and for the Megalopolitans.
352 351	107.1	{ Aristo- demus.	31	War of Lacedæmon and Megalopolis.—Demosthenes (summer of 352) delivers his first Philippic, in order to stir up the Athenians to prosecute the war against Philip more vigorously.—Philip, repulsed from Thermopylæ, enters Thrace and lays siege to Heræum, in order to open the way to Byzantium.—Demosthenes delivers his oration against Aristocrats.
351 350	107.2	Thessalus.	32	Demosthenes delivers his speech for the Rhodians.
350 349	107.3	{ Apollo- dorus.	33	While Philip is still occupied in Thrace, Phocion conducts an expedition to Eubœa, in aid of Plutarchus, against the tyrant Clitarchus, and, in the end, ejects Plutarchus for his treacherous conduct.—Demosthenes <i>χορηγός</i> in this year, and delivers his orations against Bœotus and Phormio.
349 348	107.4	{ Callima- chus.	34	The Olynthians, who had made peace with the Athenians in 352, threatened with war by Philip, send ambassadors to Athens for aid. Three embassies are sent during the year, either by Olynthus or the Chalcidian towns, and as many armaments sent out by Athens, the first under Chares, the second under Charidemus, and the third of citizen soldiers. It was on these three different occasions that Demosthenes delivered his three Olynthiacs.
348 347	108.1	{ Theo- philus.	35	Philip, having taken most of the Chalcidian towns, takes Olynthus, in the spring of 347.—Demosthenes delivers his oration against Midias.
347 346	108.2	{ Themis- tocles.	36	The Athenians, having endeavoured in vain to arouse the other Greeks to unite with them in prosecuting the war

B.C.	Olymp.	Archon.	Age Dem.	
				<p>against Philip, and learning that he was desirous of peace, send to him the first embassy (<i>περι ειρήνης</i>) to negotiate for a peace, which returns early in 346. Philip consents to a peace, but improves the time before it is formally made in taking certain northern possessions of Athens. Peace and alliance with Philip are voted at Athens on the 19th of Elaphebolion (March 18th, 346), and on the 22d a second embassy is appointed to obtain the ratification of the treaty from Philip. In the mean time, the ambassadors of the allies which are at Athens (but the Phocians and Cersobleptes had no ambassadors present) sign the treaty, and, as the ambassadors still remain in the city, Demosthenes procures the passage of a decree directing them to perform the embassy with all despatch. Still they do not leave Athens till the 9th of the following month (Munychion), and from various unnecessary delays, by which Philip gets in readiness to pass Thermopylæ in order to finish the Phocian War before the peace is concluded, do not return till about three months from the time of their appointment (Scirophorion 13). About fourteen days after their arrival at Athens, Philip, having passed Thermopylæ and hastened into Phocis, takes possession of the Phocian towns, which is announced at Athens by Dercyllus, who, with others, had lately been sent on an embassy to Philip. The Athenians receive the news with indignation, but refrain from declaring war.</p>
346 345	108.3	Archias.	37	<p>Thus the Phocian War is brought to a close, after ten years. At a meeting of the Amphictyonic Council, convoked by Philip in the autumn of 346, but which the Athenians, indignant at the course of Philip, refuse to attend, Phocis is doomed to destruction, and Philip elected to fill its place in the</p>

B.C.	Olymp.	Archon.	Age Dem.	
345 344	108.4	Eubulus.	38	council. Subsequently the Athenians, when visited by ambassadors from Philip (among whom was Python) and the Thessalians, for the purpose of obtaining their approbation of the measures of the council, at the instance of Demosthenes (Orat. de Pace), acquiesce in them and keep the peace. Philip subdues the rebellious Illyrians; enters Thessaly to quiet intestine troubles; and, in order to reduce it to a greater state of obedience, divides it into tetrarchies, each to be governed by ten men appointed by himself.—Æschines delivers his speech <i>κατὰ Τιμάρχου</i> , being in his 45th year.
344 343	109.1	Lysicus.	39	Philip, having sent aid and encouragement to the Argives and Messenians, that they might make war upon Lacedæmon, and even being upon the point of going to their aid in person, Demosthenes is sent as an ambassador into the Peloponnesus to frustrate his designs.—Demosthenes delivers his second Philippic, on occasion of certain complaints being made against them by Philip and his friends in the Peloponnesus, advising a renewal of the war with Philip. But the Athenians first send an embassy to him, requiring, as a condition of continuing the peace, that he should restore to them and the other states of Greece the places which he had taken during the peace. He promised only the restoration of Halonesus.
343 342	109.2	{ Pythodotus.	40	Philip is frustrated in his attempts upon Megaris by Phocion; also in Ambracia and Acarnania, by a force despatched thither, and by an embassy, of which Demosthenes was a member, who visited both Ambracia and the Peloponnesus, every where stirring up the Greeks to resist Philip.—Philip attempts to establish tyrants in Eubœa, to the prejudice of Athens. Demosthenes avails himself of the public indignation excited by this event

B.C.	Olymp.	Archon.	Age Dem.	
				against Philip and his friends, to prosecute Æschines for treason, on the second embassy to Philip (Orat. de Falsa Legatione). Orations of Demosthenes and Æschines, περί Παπαρρεσβίας : Æschines being assisted by the influence of Eubulus. In the spring of 342, Philip leaves for Thrace, upon what is commonly called his Scythian expedition, and sends ambassadors to Athens complaining of the course of Diopieithes in disturbing his interests and possessions in Thrace, and again offering them Halonesus. Demosthenes, Hegesippus (author of the oration on Halonesus), and others, advise the Athenians not to take as a gift what is their own by right.
342 341	109.3	Sosigenes.	41	In the winter of 341, while Philip was passing his tenth month in Thrace, Demosthenes delivers his oration on the Chersonesus, which arouses the Athenians to send ambassadors to Philip, and also to Diopieithes, in order to endeavour to save Cersobleptes and the Chersonesus. They succeed in saving the country, but Cersobleptes is conquered by Philip, and driven from his kingdom to Athens. Philip finally succeeds in establishing the tyrants Clitarchus and Philistides in Eretria and Oreus, having obtained possession of Porthmus through the dissensions of the Eubœans. It was at this time that Demosthenes delivered his third Philippic.
341 340	109 4	{ Nicoma- chus.	42	At the instance of Demosthenes, an expedition, under Phocion, is sent into Eubœa to expel the tyrants, and succeeds ; for which Demosthenes is publicly crowned by a bill proposed by Aristonicus.—Philip besieges Selymbria.
340 339	110.1	{ Theo- phrastus.	43	Philip attacks Perinthus, and lays siege to Byzantium.—Philip ravages the Chersonesus. — The bill of Demosthenes, reforming the trierarchy, is passed.—Æschines sent as Pylagoras

B.C.	Olymp.	Archon.	Age Dem.	
339 338	110.2	{ Lysima- chides.	44	to the Amphictyonic Council ; pro- cures the passage of the decree against the Locrians of Amphissæ, which leads to the Amphictyonic war.
338 337	110.3	{ Chæron- das.	45	The siege of Byzantium being still con- tinued, the Athenians are at length in- duced by Demosthenes, after the peace had continued ten years, to vote that Philip had violated the peace, and send to the aid of the Olynthians forces under Chares, and afterwards under Phocion, by which Philip was com- pelled to raise the siege both of Byzan- tium and Perinthus. The command of the Amphictyonic war is given to Philip, and he takes Elateia in Sciro- phorion (June, a.c. 338), just before the passage of the decree of Demo- sthenes for negotiating an alliance with Thebes.
336 335 335 334	111.1 111.2	{ Pytho- demus. Eusebetus.	47 48	Embassy of Demosthenes to Thebes, where he succeeds in adding the The- bans to the other allies which he had gained within a few years past for re- sisting Philip.—Battle of Chæronæa, August, a.c. 338.—Ctesiphon proposes to crown Demosthenes, October, a.c. 338.—Æschines lodges his accusation against Ctesiphon with the archon in the following March (a.c. 337), at which time Demosthenes was repairer of the walls of Athens and treasurer of the Theoric fund. Philip makes an expedition into the Peloponnesus.
334 333	111.3	Ctesicles.	49	Murder of Philip, and accession of Alex- ander at the age of twenty.
330 329	112.3	{ Aristo- phon.	53	Revolt of Thebes and its destruction by Alexander. The Athenian orators de- manded by Alexander.
				Alexander leaves Greece on an expe- dition to the East, on which he is ab- sent till his death, in a.c. 323.
				Æschines brings on the prosecution of Ctesiphon. The speeches on the Crown. The cause was early in the year, for Æschines had not heard of the death of Darius.—Æschines with- drew to Asia ; resided at Rhodes, and

B.C.	Olymp.	Archon.	Age Dem.	
<u>324</u> <u>323</u>	114.1	Hegesias.	59	taught eloquence there after the death of Alexander. Demosthenes tried for taking a bribe of Harpalus, a refugee from Alexander, is condemned, and retires to Troezen and Ægina.
<u>323</u> <u>322</u>	114.2	{ Cephiso- dorus.	60	Demosthenes, in banishment, joins the embassy sent out from Athens to stir up the Greeks to another effort to throw off the Macedonian yoke, and, when it has completed its circuit, is recalled to Athens.
<u>322</u> <u>321</u>	114.3	Philocles.	61	This effort at resistance proving unsuccessful, Demosthenes is pursued by the agents of Antipater, governor of Macedonia during the absence of Alexander in the East, and being overtaken in the temple of Poseidón, in the island of Calauria, puts an end to his life by poison.
<u>314</u> <u>313</u>	116.3	Nicodorus.	—	Death of Æschines (if he lived to the age of seventy-five).

A COMPARISON

OF

THE SECTIONS OF THIS EDITION

WITH THE SECTIONS USUALLY ADOPTED, AND WITH THE
PAGES OF REISKE.

Sections of this edition.	Sections of other editions.	Pages of Reiske.	Sections of this edition.	Sections of other editions.	Pages of Reiske.
First Philippic (Or. 4.)			De Rebus Chersonesi (Or. 8.)		
1	1	40	1	1	90
2	2—12	40	2	4	91
3	13	43	3	13	93
4	16	44	4	19	94
5	23	45	5	21	95
6	28	47	6	24	96
7	30	48	7	38	99
8	31	48	8	48	101
9	33	49	9	52	102
10	38	51	10	56	103
11	47	53	11	61	104
12			12	68	106
			13	73	108
			14	76	108
Oratio de Pace (Or. 5).			Third Philippic (Or. 9).		
1	1	57	1	1	110
2	4	57	2	8	112
3	11	59	3	10	113
4	13	60	4	15	114
5	24	63	5	21	118
Second Philippic (Or. 6).			6	32	119
1	1	65	7	36	120
2	6	67	8	41	121
3	13	69	9	47	123
4	14	69	10	53	124
5	20	71	11	56	125
6	26	72	12	57	125
7	28	72	13	59	126
			14	63	127
			15	76	132

THE Orations of Demosthenes are usually referred to by *numbers*; the *number* denoting the position of the Oration in the editions of Dem.—The following table will enable the student to determine any Oration referred to by a number.—The Orations whose titles are enclosed in crotchets are thought not to be genuine.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. 'Ολυνθιακὸς α'. | 36. παραγραφή ὑπὲρ Φορμίωνος. |
| 2. 'Ολυνθιακὸς β'. | 37. παραγραφή πρὸς Πανταίνετον. |
| 3. 'Ολυνθιακὸς γ'. | 38. παραγραφή πρὸς Ναυσίμαχον καὶ Ξενοπίεθην. |
| 4. κατὰ Φιλίππου α'. | 39. πρὸς Βοιωτὸν περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος. |
| 5. περὶ εἰρήνης. | 40. πρὸς Βοιωτὸν περὶ προικὸς μητρῶας. |
| 6. κατὰ Φιλίππου β'. | 41. πρὸς Σπρουδιαν ὑπὲρ προικῶς. |
| 7. περὶ 'Αλοννήσου. | [42. πρὸς Φαίνικπον περὶ ἀντιδόσεως.] |
| 8. περὶ τῶν ἐν Χιβρόνῃσιν. | 43. πρὸς Μακάργατον περὶ 'Αγνίου κλήρου. |
| 9. κατὰ Φιλίππου γ'. | [44. πρὸς Λεωχάρη.] |
| [10. κατὰ Φιλίππου δ'.] | [45. κατὰ Στεφάνου ψευδομαρτυριῶν α'.] |
| [11. πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν Φιλίππου.] | [46. κατὰ Στεφάνου ψευδομαρτυριῶν β'.] |
| [12. ἐπιστολὴ Φιλίππου.] | [47. κατὰ Εὐέργου καὶ Μνησιβούλου ψευδομαρτυριῶν.] |
| [13. περὶ συντάξεως.] | 48. κατὰ 'Ολυμπιοδώρου βλάβης. |
| 14. περὶ τῶν συμμοριῶν. | [49. πρὸς Τιμόθεον ὑπὲρ χρίως.] |
| 15. περὶ τῆς 'Ροδίων ἐλευθερίας. | 50. πρὸς Παλυελία περὶ τοῦ τριηραρχήματος. |
| 16. ὑπὲρ Μεγαλοπολιτῶν. | [51. περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου τῆς τριηραρχίας.] |
| [17. περὶ τῶν πρὸς 'Αλέξανδρον συνθηκῶν.] | 52. πρὸς Κάλικπον. |
| 18. ὑπὲρ Κτησιφώντος περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου. | 53. πρὸς Νικόστρατον περὶ τῶν Ἀρεθουσίου ἀνδραπδῶν. |
| 19. περὶ τῆς παραπρεσβείας. | 54. κατὰ Κόνωνος αἰκίας. |
| 20. περὶ τῆς ἀτελείας πρὸς Λεπτινῆν. | 55. πρὸς Καλλικλεία περὶ χωρίου. |
| 21. κατὰ Μειδίου περὶ τοῦ κονδύλου. | 56. κατὰ Διονυσιοδώρου βλάβης. |
| 22. κατὰ 'Ανδροτίωνος παρανόμων. | 57. ἐφεις πρὸς Εὐβουλίδην. |
| 23. κατὰ Ἀριστοκράτους. | [58. ἐνδεῖς κατὰ Θεοκρίνου.] |
| 24. κατὰ Τιμοκράτους. | [59. κατὰ Νεσίρας.] |
| [25. κατὰ Ἀριστογείτονος α'.] | [60. ἐπιτάφιος.] |
| [26. κατὰ Ἀριστογείτονος β'.] | [61. ἐρωτικός.] |
| 27. κατὰ Ἀφόβου ἐπιτροπῆς. | [62. προσίμια δημογορικὰ.] |
| 28. κατὰ Ἀφόβου β'. | [63. ἐπιστολαί.] |
| [29. πρὸς Ἀφοβον ψευδομαρτυριῶν.] | |
| 30. πρὸς Ὀνήτορα ἐξούλης α'. | |
| 31. πρὸς Ὀνήτορα ἐξούλης β'. | |
| 32. πρὸς Ζηνόθεμιν παραγραφή. | |
| 33. πρὸς Ἀπατούριον παραγραφή. | |
| 34. πρὸς Φορμίωνα περὶ δανείου. | |
| 35. πρὸς τὴν Λακρίτου παραγραφήν. | |

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